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CHRISTIANITY

IN

CHINA, TARTARY, AND THIBET.

VOL. III.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE.

CHRISTIANITY

IN

CHINA, TARTARY, AND THIBET.

BY

M. L'ABBÉ HUC,

FORMERLY MISSIONARY APOSTOLIC IN CHINA;

AUTHOR OF "THE CHINESE EMPIRE," ETC.

VOL. III.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MANTCHOO-TARTAR DYNASTY TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS.

1858.

Ch 62.8 (3)

~~Ch 62.8~~

1860. March 19.
Vols 1-3.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Mission of the Dominicans to China. — Their Failure and its Causes. — Manilla and the Dominicans. — Father Moralea and his Difficulties. — His Departure for Rome. — First Decision of Rome against the Chinese Rites. — Return of Morales to China. — Father Capellas. — Public Discussion between the Chinese Literati and the Christians. — Martyrdom of Father Capellas. — Conversion of a young Chinese and his Baptism as Gregory Lopez. — His Labours at the Missions and Studies at Manilla. — He is admitted into the Order of Dominicans and ordained Priest. — Law against Eunuchs. — A famous Chinese Pirate. — Macao saved by Father Schall. — Violent Persecution. — Sufferings and Death of Schall. — The young Emperor Khang. — He assumes the Government in Person - - - - - Page 1

CHAP. II.

Conference among the Missionaries called at Canton. — Father Navarette. — His Labours. — His Departure for Rome. — He obtains a new Decision on the Subject of the Rites. — Persecution. — Zeal and Devotion of Lopez. — Errors of the Chinese Calendar. — The Missionaries recalled to correct them. — Triumph of Father Verbiest. — He is appointed President of the Board of Astronomy. — Recall of all the Missionaries. — Restoration of the Name of Schall to Honour. — Relations of Father Verbiest with the Emperor. — Their scientific Studies. — Diploma of Nobility granted to Father Verbiest. — Earthquake. — Revolt of the General Ou-Sang-Koui. — His Proclamation. — China on Fire. — The Son of Ou-Sang-Koui strangled at Pekin. — Victories of the Tartars. — Cannon Foundry established by Father Verbiest. — The Insurrection suppressed. — Grand Journey of the Emperor in Tartary accompanied by Father Verbiest. — Zeal of that Missionary for the Propagation of the Faith - - 44

CHAP. III.

Portuguese Patronage in Asia. — Father Alexander of Rhodes. — The Foreign Mission Seminary. — The first Vicar Apostolic of China, Monseigneur Vallu. — Project of the great Colbert for a French Mission in China. — It is realised by the Exertions of M. de Louvois. — Departure of ten French Missionaries. — Stay at Batavia and Siam. — Navigation on board a Chinese Junk. — Arrival of the Missionaries at Ning-Po. — Vexatious Behaviour of the Mandarins. — Brilliant Reception at Han-Tcheou-Fou. — Departure for Pekin. — The French Jesuits find the Pekin Mission in Mourning. — Death of the celebrated Father Verbiest. — His Funeral. — Eulogium on this great Missionary. — Gregory Lopez. — He is named Bishop of Basilea. — His Opinion on the Subject of the Chinese Ceremonies. — He dies at Nankin - Page 93

CHAP. IV.

The French Missionaries received by the Emperor. — Description of the Imperial Palace. — Portrait of Khang-Hi. — Two Missionaries attached to the Court, and three sent to the Provinces. — First Relations of the Muscovites with the Siberians. — The Muscovites invade Siberia as far as the Frontier of the Mantchoo Tartars. — Contest between these two Nations. — Chinese Embassy to Siberia. — Father Gerbillon negotiates the Treaty of Peace of Niptchou. — The Emperor studies the Sciences of Europe with the Jesuits. — Persecution. — Proclamation of a Viceroy. — Father Intorcetta before the Tribunals. — The Prince Sosan declares for the Missionaries. — Persecution redoubled. — Heroism of a Physician. — The Missionaries have recourse to the Emperor. — Khang-Hi receives them coolly. — Petition presented by the Missionaries to the Emperor - - - - - - - 143

CHAP. V.

Ceremonies of the New Year. — Hostility of the Court of Rites to the Christians. — Contest between the Emperor and the Court of Rites. — The Prince Sosan pleads before the Court for the Christians. — Imperial Decree in their Favour. — Prosperity of the Missions. — Illness of the Emperor. — Quackery of a Bonze. — The Jesuits cure the Emperor with Quinine. — Physicians of China. — The Emperor gives the Missionaries a House within the Precincts of his Palace. — Revolt of a Tartar Chief. — Immense Preparations for War. — The Emperor's Prayer to Heaven. — Departure of the Grand Army. — Death of Kaldan. — Question of the native Clergy. — Erection of a French Church in the Yellow City. — Description of this fine Edifice. — Association of Good Works among the Christians. — Pagan Beneficence and Christian Charity.

— Overflowing of the Yellow River. — The Emperor charges the Missionaries with the Distribution of Alms. — Atlas of China prepared by the Jesuits. — Missions in the Provinces Page 193

CHAP. VI.

The State of the Controversy on the Rites. — The Seminary of Foreign Missions. — Message from the Bishop of Conon. — The Jesuits get the Emperor to interfere in the Dispute. — The Jansenists. — Decree of the Pontifical See. — Arrival of Cardinal de Tournon at Pekin. — Failure of his first Negotiations. — Explanation of the Ceremonies in Honour of Confucius and the Ancestors. — Interpretation of the Jesuits. — Decision of Clement XI. — Moderation of Cardinal de Tournon. — Theological Pretensions of Khang-Hi. — Monseigneur Maigrot before the Emperor. — His invincible Courage. — Banishment of Monseigneur Maigrot. — Imperial Decree against the Missionaries. — Departure of Cardinal de Tournon from Pekin. — He publishes at Nankin his celebrated Mandate. — The General of the Jesuits at Rome. — Oath required by Clement XI. — Cardinal de Tournon imprisoned at Macao. — His Sufferings and Death. — The Sovereign Pontiff pronounces an Eulogium on him. — The historical Apologist of the Society of Jesus - - - - - - - - 239

CHAP. VII.

Father de Visdelou. — Bull of Clement XI. — New Apostolic Legation to China. — Monseigneur de Mezzabarba at Lisbon. — Brilliant Reception of the Legate-Apostolic at Macao. — The Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits. — A Typhoon at Macao. — Fête given to Mezzabarba in the Green Island. — Declaration of Father Lauréati, Visitor of the Jesuits. —Relations of the Legate with the Mandarins of Canton. — Departure of the Legation for the Capital. — Reception of a Russian Embassy at Pekin. — Arrival of Monseigneur de Mezzabarba in the Environs of the Capital. — First Difficulties with the Envoys of the Emperor. — Interview of the Legate with the Emperor. — Imperial Dissertations. — Notification of the Bull of Clement XI. to Khang-Hi. — Judgment of the Emperor upon this Pontifical Decision. — Last Audience granted to Mezzabarba. — Loquacity and sarcastic Remarks of Khang-Hi. — Return of the Legate-Apostolic to Macao, and then to Rome. — Disputes in Europe on the Subject of the Legation. — Benedict XIV. puts a final Termination to the Question of the Chinese Rites - 285

CHAP. VIII.

Unfortunate Result of the Dissensions among the Missionaries. — Chinese Nobility. — Princes of the Blood. — Their Organisation.

— Tartar Tribunal. — Prince Sourmia. — Manner of Life of the Princes of the Yellow Girdle. — A Man of Letters of the Sourmia Family. — He discovers the Christian Books. — His Relations with the celebrated Father Parennin.— The tenth Son of Sourmia accompanies the Heir of the Empire to the War. — Baptized before his Departure by the Name of Paul. — He evangelises his Companions in Arms. — Baptism of Prince John and his Family. — Preface of a Chinese Book. — Anger of the old Prince Sourmia at the numerous Conversions in his Family. — The Prince Paul consecrates himself to the Work of baptizing little Children. — The Sons of Prince Sourmia labour for the Conversion of their Father. — Death of the Emperor Khang-Hi. — His Will. — Glance at the Reign of Khang-Hi.—Khang-Hi and Louis XIV. Page 327

CHAP. IX.

Narrative of One of the Jesuits of Pekin - - - 367

APPENDIX - - - - - - - - 407

CHRISTIANITY

IN

CHINA, TARTARY, AND THIBET.

CHAPTER I.

MISSION OF THE DOMINICANS TO CHINA. — THEIR FAILURE AND ITS CAUSES. — MANILLA AND THE DOMINICANS. — FATHER MORALÈS AND HIS DIFFICULTIES.—HIS DEPARTURE FOR ROME.—FIRST DECISION OF ROME AGAINST THE CHINESE RITES. — RETURN OF MORALÈS TO CHINA. — FATHER CAPELLAS. — PUBLIC DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE CHINESE LITERATI AND THE CHRISTIANS. — MARTYRDOM OF FATHER CAPELLAS.— CONVERSION OF A YOUNG CHINESE AND HIS BAPTISM AS GREGORY-LOPEZ. — HIS LABOURS AT THE MISSIONS AND STUDIES AT MANILLA. — HE IS ADMITTED INTO THE ORDER OF DOMINICANS AND ORDAINED PRIEST. — LAW AGAINST EUNUCHS. — A FAMOUS CHINESE PIRATE. — MACAO SAVED BY FATHER SCHALL. — VIOLENT PERSECUTION. — SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF SCHALL. — THE YOUNG EMPEROR KHANG. — HE ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT IN PERSON.

DURING the intestine wars and struggles which had revolutionised the Empire of China, the missionaries had had the prudence to preserve a strict neutrality, and to take no part either with the dynasty of Ming — the insurgents, or the Tartars; and they thus maintained the independence so essential to the apostolic career, and which ministers of religion always compromise when they venture on the perilous and shifting

ground of political life, forgetting that it is their special business to occupy themselves with the sacred interests of a kingdom that is not of this world.

The preachers of the gospel in China were perfectly in the right when they left the various competitors for the Imperial power to settle the dispute among themselves; and they would have been still more praiseworthy if they had, during that period, maintained a spirit of peace and harmony in their own missions, — if they had not thrown themselves with quite so much eagerness into controversies, which might be unavoidable, but which it was at all events desirable to carry on with more calmness, gentleness, and Christian simplicity of heart.

We have already said, that from the very commencement of the missions of the Society of Jesus in China, there had arisen among them differences of opinion, in which had originated two schools: — that of Father Ricci, who was disposed to allow the widest toleration to the rites of the Chinese; and that of Father Longobardi, who saw nothing but superstition in the worship paid by them to Heaven, to Confucius, and their ancestors; and was therefore disposed to the rigorous interdiction of all such ceremonies. As early as 1628, the most experienced missionaries had met to endeavour to come to an understanding on this difficult and important question; but though the conference lasted a whole month, no reconciliation of the differences was effected. This deplorable division became known, not only throughout China, but even in Europe, and awakened the attention and inflamed the zeal of other religious orders in the cause of the propagation of the faith. Their arrival in the Celestial Empire, however,

instead of leading to a termination of the dispute, only tended to embitter it; for the Dominicans and Franciscans did not join the school of Father Ricci, which had been considerably in the majority, but reinforced that of Father Longobardi; and from that time it was easy to see that the contest would be long and fierce — a prevision which was unfortunately but too well verified.

During the middle ages, the Gospel had been borne throughout the known world by the monks of St. Francis and St. Dominic. We have seen how these indefatigable apostles traversed with dauntless courage the vast regions of Upper Asia, and announced to the ferocious warriors of Tchinguiz-Khan, and the proud disciples of Confucius, a religion of peace, humility, and love. By turns missionaries and ambassadors, they served with equal devotion the interests of Christianity and those of civilisation. Plan-Carpin, Rubruk, John of Montecorvino, Oderic di Friuli, all set out from the west, with the staff in their hands and the wallet on their backs, and penetrating to the most remote east, executed enterprises that might well have appeared formidable to the most heroic courage and perseverance.

The "Travellers for Jesus Christ" never abandoned the scene of these apostolic labours, but pursued their object unweariedly, through wars, revolutions, and persecutions of the most atrocious character. The missions to High Asia were indeed interrupted for a brief period; but when a new route to it was opened by the Cape of Good Hope, the Dominicans showed themselves the equals of their predecessors in zeal and courage. They were ready immediately to throw themselves on the waves of this new ocean, to bear to the innumerable

populations still sitting in darkness, the light of truth which had already shone for them once before. The Jesuits, it is true, were now spread over the whole world, and the institution of St. Ignatius was developing, in all the regions then known, its incomparable powers of expansion and of propagandism. It was, however, as we have already said, a Dominican who had first the honour to penetrate into China, and inaugurate the missions which the Jesuits afterwards rendered so celebrated.*

In the year 1555, only three years after the death of Francis Xavier, Gaspard de la Croix, a native of Evora, succeeded in penetrating into the Chinese Empire. Cardoso informs us, in his Martyrology, that he had read a narrative, written in Portuguese by this missionary, of all that had happened to him in China, and of the hopes that might be entertained from this mission, if it should be duly cultivated. The first attempts at preaching were, it appears, not without good results; for the Chinese, touched by the example of his life, as well as persuaded by his discourses, threw down, of their own accord, one of the pagodas consecrated to idols. Many demanded baptism, and some received it; but the mandarins, terrified at the influence which this foreigner had acquired in the country, had him arrested, with a view to put him to death; though not daring to come to this extremity with a man whose holiness was manifest, they contented themselves with driving him from the Empire.†

* Le Quien, "Oriens Christianus," t. iii. p. 1354.

† Touron, "Histoire des Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique," vol. vi. p. 729. Fontana, "Monumenta Dominicana, ann. 1555."

After this involuntary retirement of Gaspard de la Croix, and during the same century, several Dominican missionaries undertook successively to propagate the Christian faith amongst the Chinese, and cultivate the evangelical seed deposited there by their holy and zealous predecessor. Towards the year 1587, almost at the period of the arrival of Father Ricci in China, Bartholomew Lopez, and two other monks of St. Dominic, built a convent at Macao, in the hope that this house of refuge would one day become the centre of their apostolic operations for the interior of the empire; and about the same time, Father John de Castro, first provincial of the province of Saint Rosario of the Philippines, and Father Michael de Benavidès, afterwards archbishop of Manilla, were introduced into the Celestial Empire by two Chinese whom the latter had converted and baptized in the capital of the Philippines. As they were already well instructed in the language and customs of the country, they began from the time of their arrival to exercise the functions of the holy ministry. Their apostleship created a great sensation amongst the infidels, and they would have effected numerous conversions if they had been allowed the liberty of labouring in peace at the work of the Lord. But their zeal awakened the jealousy and ill-will of the authorities; their humble dwelling was one day suddenly surrounded, and they were arrested by a band of satellites, who loaded them with chains, and threw them into a hideous dungeon. When they were subsequently dragged before the tribunal, they courageously confessed the name of Jesus Christ in the presence of their judge; and after long and cruel sufferings, they were finally driven from the empire, and forced to take refuge at Manilla.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Father Diego Advarte, who made the voyage to India three times, and preached the Gospel at Ceylon, Cambodia, Cochin China, and Malacca, encountered in China great difficulties. At the beginning of the following century, two other Dominicans entered the empire to labour for the prosperity of the missions of their order — but they met with such obstacles, as entirely paralysed their apostolic zeal; and it was not till 1633, the epoch of the arrival of Moralès in China, that the Christian communities founded by the Dominicans began to flourish. All that had been done before was no more than an attempt, a feeble prelude to the immense labours and the abundant harvest of the seventeenth and following centuries.

It seems rather surprising that the Dominicans should have encountered such continual obstacles and difficulties in founding their first establishments in China, whilst at this very time those of the Jesuits were becoming more and more prosperous, and spreading to a wonderful extent over the whole empire; and historical impartiality will not allow us to pass over this strange fact without assigning for it a cause which may also serve to throw some light on the controversies and troubles by which the missions in China have been agitated.

Whilst the Portuguese established at Macao, at the very gates of China, were endeavouring to consolidate the basis of their young and flourishing colony, the Spanish power was engaged in laying the foundations of its dominion, not far off, on the Philippine Islands. It was in 1519 that Magellan discovered that magnificent archipelago, consisting of twelve principal islands, surrounded by sixty smaller ones: and in 1571, Don Miguel

constructed in the island of Lucon the fortifications that were to protect Manilla, the capital of that rich and curious colony.

The old rivalry between Spain and Portugal now burst out again with the utmost intensity, in remotest Asia, between Manilla and Macao. The Portuguese desired to monopolise the Chinese trade for their own profit; and used every means to drive away the Spaniards from the coasts of the Celestial Empire, and prevent their entering into any relation with the mandarins. Having seen a considerable number of Chinese emigrants flocking to the Philippines, they feared that the European market in those countries would be displaced, and pass gradually from Macao to Manilla; and thus from the very beginning the Portuguese policy was applied to place hindrances and difficulties in the way of the relations that might have been established between the Spaniards and the Chinese.

We have already seen in what manner the authorities of Macao contrived to cause the miscarriage of a mission intended to be sent from His Catholic Majesty to Pekin*; and the Jesuit missionaries, established in the interior, after having used all their influence with the mandarins to ensure its success, afterwards, at the instigation of the Portuguese, laboured to effect its downfall. The latter asserted that if the Spaniards should succeed in their design of establishing themselves side by side with them in the Chinese market, it would be impossible for the Portuguese to sustain the competition with a people who, having all the gold of Peru at its disposal, could raise enormously the price of Chinese goods, and ultimately destroy the trade of Macao: and the Jesuit mis-

* See Vol. I.

sionaries thought themselves bound to maintain the interests of the Portuguese, who had aided them in so many ways, and especially by their abundant contributions to the foundation and support of the mission in China.

Thus the Jesuits had associated the success of their religious enterprise with the prosperity of the Portuguese colony, whilst the Dominicans, who had their seminary at Manilla, made common cause with the Spaniards; and thence arose the antipathies, the rivalries, and the struggles, not merely of the Spanish and Portuguese, but unfortunately of the Jesuits and Dominicans also. This antagonism reappeared in a thousand different circumstances, and was, doubtless, greatly concerned in those lamentable divisions which created such scandal in the Christian world, and acted so injuriously on the Eastern missions.

In opposing the introduction of the Dominicans into the interior of the Chinese empire, the Jesuits were not, we believe, actuated by any miserable motive of jealousy; for such a feeling was far below their general characters, and unworthy the zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls by which they were animated. If the followers of Saint Ignatius manifested sometimes a desire to be alone concerned in the missions of China—if they testified any repugnance to see other labourers employed with them in the vast fields of the Lord of the Harvest —it was because they thought, perhaps wrongly, that the presence of missionaries of various orders would militate against the unity of method so necessary in the work of the propagation of the faith. Division had already arisen among them on the subject of the Chinese rites; and could they hope that any nearer approach to

peace and conciliation would be made through the intervention of the Franciscans and Dominicans? This was not their opinion, and more than once they loudly declared what their opinion was. Father Alvarez Semedo, one of the first missionaries who wrote on the subject of the Chinese missions, expresses himself thus: — "I will conclude this history with an extract from a letter of Alphonso Mendez, patriarch of Ethiopia, written from Goa to the Cardinals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith; it deserves attention from the learning, virtue, and authority of the writer, and his competency to speak on a matter for which he has gone through incredible labours. These are his words: — 'It appears to me, that at the close of my letter, it may not be out of place to represent to your Eminences, that we have a divine command against sowing various kinds of seed in the same field, or wearing a robe woven of wool and of flax; I mean that the agreeable variety of garments worn by the queen who is already espoused — the diversity of rules and habits of religious orders — ought not to be introduced into churches still young, and, so to speak, sucking, but that we must wait some years till they have increased in age and strength, since there often glides in a certain pernicious jealousy along with these diversities; some have not prudence enough, and others too much indiscreet zeal, and both the one and the other do things which tend not to edification, but to ruin. May our Lord bless and keep your Eminences.—Goa, November 11, 1638.'" *

This letter, with which Father Semedo terminates his history, signifies, in plain words, that the Franciscans and Dominicans are not to be allowed to enter China.

* Alvarez Semedo, "Histoire de la Chine," p. 367.

The missionaries who did not belong to the Society of Jesus met such constant hindrance, that, by the testimony of the Jesuits themselves, they had to wait a very long time before they could give free course to their apostolic zeal, and lay the foundations of their missions.

"The other religious orders," says Father Cahour, "did not reach Macao till towards 1633. Those who presented themselves were Castilians; and the Portuguese, who were masters of that town, actuated either by policy or national antipathy, constantly refused them a passage through what was then the sole entrance to the Celestial Empire. They waited, therefore, at the Philippines for half-a-century, until at length the commerce of those islands with that of Formosa afforded them the means of insinuating themselves into the province of Fo-kien, which was only one day's passage distant."*

In was, in fact, in 1633, that the Dominican, Jean-Baptiste Moralès, and the Franciscan, Antoine de Sainte Marie, made their way from Manilla into the province of Fo-kien. As they had, during their long stay in the Philippine Islands, familiarized themselves with th Chinese language, they were able, from the moment of their arrival in China, to commence preaching; and the dissensions that had occurred among the Jesuits on the subject of the Chinese rites immediately attracted their attention.

Father Moralès investigated the points of controversy on the spot, and amongst the neophytes, and even interrogated many of the literary class who had been converted by the Jesuits; and all affirmed, under oath,

* Father Cahour, "Des Jésuites par un Jésuite," c. iv. p. 80. Bartoli, "Della Cina," lib. iv.; "Delle Opere," vol. xviii. p. 507.

that the sacrifices offered to Confucius and the ancestors were offered with a view of rendering them propitious. From that moment the Dominicans saw in these rites only highly reprehensible superstitions, and loudly protested against the conduct pursued with regard to them by the majority of the Jesuits. They also wrote to Rome, to inform the Sovereign Pontiff of the danger to which the purity of the faith was exposed in the missions of China; while the Jesuits, on their part, sent a very different statement of the question, taken from an opposite point of view.

In the meantime, a violent persecution arose in the province of Fo-kien, and the missionary establishments of the Dominican Fathers were destroyed. Moralès, who would not allow Christian converts to join in the sacrifices in honour of Confucius and the ancestors, saw himself an object of hatred both to the mandarins and the people, and was obliged to conceal himself. He then wandered for days together about the mountains, and along the banks of rivers, without any other food than roots and wild herbs, but was at last seized and thrown into prison, afterwards put in the *Cangue*, and beaten with rods, and then put on board a vessel to be taken to Macao, with a prohibition against ever re-entering the Empire of China. In the leisure of his involuntary seclusion, he studied more profoundly the important questions which divided the missionaries of China; and the Superiors of the Friars Minor and of the Preachers took the resolution of sending him to Rome, on a mission connected with this controversy.

Moralès reached the capital of the Christian world in 1643, and laid before the court of Rome seventeen questions, which were decided in favour of the Friars

Minor, by a decree of Innocent 10th (dated Sept. 12, 1645), and which Moralès himself notified to the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits of China. In adding to this decree the clause, "*until it shall be decided otherwise*," Innocent 10th had himself implied that it might be revocable, under the supposition of a more accurate statement of the facts; and the Jesuits therefore deputed Father Martini to go as their envoy to Rome, and explain the reasons upon which they had acted in the toleration they had thought it advisable to extend to ceremonies which they regarded as purely civil, and not religious in their character.

Considered from this point of view, these ceremonies could not be thought to merit the condemnation pronounced against them on the statements of the Dominican Moralès, and a decree of Alexander 7th (bearing date March 23, 1656), and framed on the statement made by the Jesuit Martini, declared that, assuming the correctness of this statement, the ceremonies in question were lawful, and might be conscientiously tolerated, especially if, previous to participating in them, the Christian should enter a protest against any tendency to idolatrous superstition to be found in them. Since the memorials drawn up by the Dominican and the Jesuit differed entirely from each other, the answers of the Pope might also differ, without any contradiction.

The voyage of Moralès to Europe was, however, not made with the sole purpose of enlightening the Sovereign Pontiff concerning the practices and rites of the Chinese. This zealous missionary earnestly desired to excite the ardour of his brethren for the propagation of the faith amongst foreign nations; and his purpose was to bring back with him numerous labourers, to

gather in the harvest now ripening, at last, in the remote East. After fulfilling his mission to Rome, he returned to Spain, and appealed to any Dominicans, who might wish to devote themselves even to death for the salvation of men; and the learned Navarette, whose renown was at that time shedding great glory on the university of Valladolid, was the first who obeyed the call of the missionary. Many others joyfully associated themselves with that distinguished servant of God, and Father Moralès, embarking at the port of San-Lucar, in Andalusia, with twenty-eight brethren of his order, recommenced his long and perilous voyage to remote Asia.

While these bold "Travellers for Jesus Christ," as they were called in the Middle Ages, were thus, with holy intrepidity, daring the perils of the sea, one of their brethren was shedding his blood on the soil of China. This was the Dominican monk, Francis Fernandez de Capellas, sprung from an illustrious Spanish family, and consecrated to God, by religious profession, in the convent of Saint Paul, at Valladolid; there he had learned to detach himself from the world, to desire evangelical poverty, to practise humility, and to seek for no other pleasure than prayer, and the reading of the holy scriptures; and he was prepared for the priesthood, as well as for the apostolic ministry, by a life of austerity and retirement. He had at first exercised the sacerdotal functions in his own province; but when the will of his superiors made known to him that of God, he was found quite ready to cross the ocean, and bear the light of the Gospel to remote regions. In the Island of Formosa, Providence permitted him to meet with Francisco Diaz, a brother of the order,

who had preceded him; and they entered China together, in the year 1642, Capellas stopping at Fo-Ngan. Having speedily acquired the language of the country, he applied himself to the fulfilment of his apostolic office, and traversed on foot various provinces of the empire, always poorly clothed, carrying with him only a breviary and a crucifix, and in his preachings relying solely on the virtue of the Cross. It would be hard to tell all the fatigues he underwent, and the perils he encountered, on journeys always difficult and dangerous for a missionary; but a great number of infidels were instructed, converted apostates were brought back and reconciled to the Church, and virgins were consecrated to God in an empire where virginity is much honoured, but little practised; and this success made Capellas ample amends for all hardships, and showed him that the Lord protected his ministry.*

Capellas was still zealously pursuing his evangelical labours, when the prefect of Fo-Ngan commenced a cruel persecution of all who professed Christianity; and he set on foot at the same time an active search after their pastors. During the persecution a commissioner-general was sent to the town of Fo-Ngan, with orders to listen to the complaints of the literary class against the Christians, and the defence offered by them. The visitor commanded them to choose amongst them respectively their most learned member to defend their cause, and declared that the discussion should take place publicly in his presence, promising to pronounce judgment according to what he should hear.

On the appointed day, Pierre-Chin, a learned Chinese, and a pupil of Father Capellas, stood forth to speak for

* Touron, vol. vi. p. 732.

the law of God, which he professed; and a disciple of Confucius complained that the Christians only assembled in their churches to trample under foot the sacred laws of the empire, and show their contempt for them; refusing to pay the homage to ancestors which custom and piety enjoined, and burning with sacrilegious irreverence the tablets on which their names were inscribed.

The apologist of the Christians replied that they assembled in their churches only to praise God and offer him prayer and sacrifice, to supplicate peace and prosperity for the empire, and the preservation of the Emperor; that, far from despising the laws, they observed them most faithfully; that Christians did not indeed render sacrilegious worship to the tablets of ancestors, or to ancestors themselves; but that they prayed for the repose and eternal happiness of those who, having known and served the Lord, had departed this life in his holy religion; that the Christians had done no violence to any one to oblige him to burn the tablets on which the names of his ancestors were inscribed, but had contented themselves with practising the law of charity, which commanded them to remonstrate with mildness, and persuade by reason.

Pierre-Chin continued his defence with so much learning and spirit, and with such lively and pathetic eloquence, that the commissioner pronounced a decision in favour of the Christians, and declared that their law was good, since it commands men to fly from what is wrong and practise what is right; that its ministers were virtuous men of irreproachable life, and that consequently he forbid the *literati* and all others henceforth to molest the disciples of Jesus Christ.

This just decision ought to have put an end to all

persecution, but it only suspended it for a time. The Bonzes, who were inimical to Christianity, renewed their intrigues. They deceived the mandarins by their falsehoods, and caused fresh irritation in their minds, so that the persecution was soon renewed with more violence than ever. They arrested Father Capellas at the moment when, accompanied by a young boy bearing the sacred vessels, he was going to administer the sacraments in the environs of Fo-Ngan; and after being heavily ironed, he was dragged to prison by Tartar soldiers, on the 13th of November, 1647. In the account of his martyrdom it is stated, that when interrogated by the mandarin as to whose house it was in which he was lodged and fed, he replied he had no other house than the wide world, no other bed than the ground, no food but what Providence sent him from day to day, and no occupation but that of labouring and suffering for the glory of Jesus Christ, and the eternal happiness of those who believed in him.

The answers to all other questions were given in the same spirit; and he lost no opportunity of speaking of the truths of salvation which he had come to make known to the people of China. But these men were unworthy to hear those truths, and the mandarin, irritated as much by the firmness of the Christian missionary as by his answers, had him beaten in a cruel manner before sending him back to prison.

There the confessor of the faith passed his days and nights in prayer, and the word of God was not idle in his mouth, but all who had leave to visit him felt what is the power of that word from the lips of a martyr.

Capellas, by the eloquent example of his heroic patience, as well as by his animated exhortations, continued,

even in his bonds, to effect new conversions, and these were for his infidel judges so many fresh inducements to put him to death. He was, they said, a despiser of the spirits and gods of their country, and a propagator of false doctrines; and sentence of death was pronounced against him accordingly.

The martyr maintained to his latest breath the same firmness and unshaken courage that he had shown on all other occasions; he never ceased from praising the Lord, who had deigned to accept his sacrifice, and prayed that he would graft in the hearts of the Chinese the holy law which he was about to seal with his blood. The sentence was executed on the 15th of January, 1648, in the presence of an immense multitude.

The precious death of this intrepid preacher of the Gospel, instead of intimidating the Christians, animated their courage, and strengthened in them the noble resolution of holding fast by the faith that the martyr had induced them to embrace. At Macao, in the Philippines, and in Spain, there was a solemn thanksgiving for his triumph, and the head of the saint was carried, first to Manilla, and afterwards to the convent of St. Paul in Valladolid.

At the moment when Father Capellas was about to procure by his heroic death a triumph for the Christian faith, numerous brethren of the order of St. Dominic, who had embarked at San Lucar, in Spain, under the guidance of Father Moralès, were at length landing on the coast of China, after a long and laborious voyage. These young missionaries arrived just in time to see the blood of their glorious brother shed in the cause, and to derive from that spectacle the strength, the power of endurance, and the holy intoxication of the apostleship.

The attraction of the crown of martyrdom induced them to enter with ardour into the militant career; they hastened to visit the desolate missions, and inform them that the blood of missionaries thus shed does but bring forth new preachers of the Gospel.

Father Moralès felt much emotion in meeting again his numerous spiritual family, and he loved to repeat the names of all whom he had regenerated in the water of baptism, and blessed the Lord that he found them still faithful and immoveable amidst the tempest. He felt especial tenderness towards the young Gregory, of whom he heard wonders related; and we will give some biographical details concerning this illustrious Christian, since he was the first of his nation honoured with the sacerdotal character and the episcopal dignity.

A-Lou, subsequently known under the name of Gregory-Lopez, was born of Chinese parents at Fou-Tcheou-Fou, the capital of the province of Fo-Kien. He was brought up in the religion of his countrymen, that is to say, in a monstrous mixture of the doctrines of Buddha, Confucius, and Lao-tze, with the accompaniment of innumerable superstitions. But the Lord, who had chosen him for His service, soon sanctified him by His grace, and enabled him to serve as an instrument of mercy to others; and it was the Dominican Moralès who first communicated to the young Chinese what he could not have learned from his parents or instructors, namely, the knowledge of Jesus Christ and His law.

The Chinese have, in general, so much precocity of judgment and intelligence, that they are capable of attending to serious business at an age when European children think only of play; and though somewhat inclined to moroseness and melancholy, the juvenile

inhabitants of the Celestial Empire are early accustomed to the realities of life. The children of the great towns soon learn to understand commercial affairs, industrial speculations, and, moreover, all the knaveries of stock-jobbing ; and the children of the country know perfectly well how much a field of rice will produce, and calculate as well as any grown men the profits derivable from the culture of the mulberry or the tea plant. These little materialists appear to have somewhat withered hearts, and are by no means remarkable for candour and simplicity; they have seldom any aspirations towards generous ideas or noble sentiments, and one may see in the very look of their narrow oblique little eyes the indications of roguery, cupidity, and cunning.

It was not, however, thus with the young A-Lou. Father Moralès had early observed in this child not only a solid and advanced understanding, but a most pure, gentle, and amiable character, accompanied by great docility ; and becoming much attached to him, Moralès applied himself to instruct him and train him to virtue and religion. The good seed which the missionary cast into ground so well prepared soon bore excellent fruit ; and the heart of the young Chinese being touched by divine grace, he employed the light of reason, not to repulse the still more pure and vivid light presented to him, but to subject his intelligence to the power of faith. He did not, doubtless, fully comprehend revealed truth, but he believed in it humbly and firmly, for he understood enough to see that it was in harmony with the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God. Faith had opened in his soul a marvellous spring of sensibility and tenderness; and he could not hear, without shedding tears, of all that the Saviour had deigned to do and to

suffer for the salvation of those who believed in Him. After he had been thoroughly instructed in the truths of the Christian religion, he made a public renunciation of the false doctrines, vain superstitions, and senseless practices of the Chinese; and he demanded the grace of baptism, and received it with the name of Gregory, to which the Dominican missionaries added the Spanish name of Lopez, as a sort of transcription of the Chinese word, A-Lou.

Full of gratitude for the precious gift that had been bestowed upon him, and resolved to consecrate his life to the glory of Him who had been willing to die in order to save mankind, Gregory-Lopez laboured zealously to make his countrymen acquainted with the adorable name, the mysteries, the precepts and example of Jesus Christ. He earnestly endeavoured, in the first instance, to introduce the light of the Gospel into his paternal home and the place of his birth; but his efforts were of no avail, for it is written that "a prophet hath no honour in his own country"; and when he found he was not to have the honour of converting his relations and his old friends, he had the courage to separate himself from them, and, renouncing all the benefits and happiness of domestic life, to attach himself to the missionaries to whom he owed his second birth. He first did them all the services in his power in his native town of Fou-Tcheou-Fou, and he then boldly followed them to Pekin, when they were sent thither by order of the government; and while he served them as an interpreter, fulfilled at the same time the perilous functions of a catechist among the Christian converts. The persecution raised in the capital against the apostolic labourers was not long in extending itself to all those who afforded them a refuge,

or favoured them in any manner whatever, and with the missionaries they arrested also their catechists and interpreters, and, after having kept them long languishing in prison, without being able either to intimidate them or seduce them from their faith, they drove them into exile. Many monks of various orders were involved in this persecution, and forced, some to conceal themselves, others to practise in chains and in prison the patience and resignation they had so often preached to their neophytes.

Such of the missionaries as had found means to escape the pursuit of the mandarins, or who had been sent to Macao, seeing the impossibility of their resuming in China the work of the ministry, turned their thoughts in another direction; for true apostles never allow themselves to sink into repose and inaction, and if they are not permitted to carry the Gospel tidings to the north, only turn towards the south. Some Franciscans having embarked at Macao to proceed to Cochin China, Lopez, listening only to his own ardent zeal, followed them, to partake their perils by land and sea, and showed the same unshaken firmness through all vicissitudes. Hardly had these indefatigable preachers of the Gospel escaped from the violent tempest raised against them in the Chinese Empire, when they had to encounter still greater cruelty among the new nations to whom they sought to bring the faith; and the fortitude of the fervent proselyte did not shrink from the apparatus of torture and death which he saw displayed before his eyes in a town of Cochin China. Providence, however, having reserved him for longer trials, withdrew him from this danger, and enabled him to reach Manilla.

The tranquillity that Gregory-Lopez enjoyed in the

Spanish colony enabled him not only to enter on a more thorough study of theological truth, but to apply himself also to humane letters, and make himself acquainted with the Latin, and even the Spanish language; for which the Dominicans of the College of St. Thomas afforded him every facility. He did not, however, attain to the first rank in learning, but his progress in virtue and holiness was wonderful; and he formed the resolution of embracing the religious profession, which no Chinese had yet done, and of aspiring to the sacerdotal office, that he might be able to labour with more success for the conversion of his countrymen. He was especially attracted to the order of St. Dominic, and, notwithstanding the long trials to which he was subjected, his resolution did not fail.

One day Father Gonsalez, provincial of the Dominicans in the Philippine islands, expressed a wish to send some help to the missionaries who, notwithstanding the persecution, had continued their labours in China. Gregory-Lopez undertook to carry the money to them, and though obliged to make a journey of fifteen days' duration, in the midst of much peril, acquitted himself of his mission with admirable intrepidity; and his arrival was a great consolation to Father Garcia, a Spanish Dominican, who, at the height of the persecution, and almost in the very presence of his persecutors, had never ceased his courageous efforts to gain souls for Jesus Christ.

It was at Ting-Tcheou, in the province of Fo-kien, that Gregory found this apostolic Christian, who at the sight of the fervent proselyte might well have said to his neophytes as St. Paul did to the Christians of the Church of Corinth:

"I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation.

"For when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears.

"Nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus."

In fact, if the Dominican missionary found himself amongst the Chinese in a similar position to that of Paul in Macedonia, the arrival of Gregory must have been to him what that of Titus was for the great apostle.

Burning with the same zeal as himself, Gregory was happy to share in all his dangers and fatigues, and voluntarily undertook the instruction of the children, catechumens, and neophytes; and since, as a native Chinese, it was easier for him to show himself abroad, he took upon him, with much self-devotion, all the journeys that were desirable for the good of the mission. In the course of his numerous excursions he collected amongst his countrymen a sufficient sum for the erection of a hospital and a small church at Ting-Tcheou; and he also contributed in another way to the good work—labouring with his hands, and carrying wood, stones, sand, and cement, and affording whatever manual assistance he could. To his exertions, indeed, it was principally owing that a house of prayer was raised to the glory of the true God in the midst of a population of infidels.

Gregory-Lopez was then thirty years of age, and he obtained at length the habit of St. Dominic, which he had so long ardently desired, and was sent back to the convent at Manilla to complete his theological studies, and be further trained to the exercises of the religious life. His apostolic vocation being so marked, he was

shortly afterwards admitted to the priesthood, and allowed to join some brethren who were leaving the Philippines for China. It was at this period of his life that he had the happiness to meet again his first master, Father Moralès, who had just returned from Europe. But Moralès did not long enjoy the success of his attached disciple, for he departed, in 1664, to receive from God the eternal reward of his apostolic labours. This was three years after the death of the Emperor Chun-Tché, and at the epoch when a violent persecution burst out in China that nearly destroyed for ever the work of the missionaries.

Immediately after the decease of Chun-Tché, the four Regents, charged with the government of the empire during the minority of young Khang-Hi, hastened to annihilate the insolent power of the eunuchs, whose tyranny had precipitated the fall of the ancient dynasty.

These men, who were inordinately ambitious, and lived perpetually in the midst of intrigues, had found their influence destroyed by the accession of the Mantchoo-Tartars. The conquerors of the empire despised these degraded beings, refused them any share in the business of government, and confined them to the exercise of their humiliating functions.

At first they appeared to submit, but their habits of domination soon manifested themselves again, and, adroitly profiting by the weaknesses of every kind that marked the closing years of Chun-Tché's reign, they had almost imperceptibly recovered their former position. The chief of this ignoble and dangerous class had been guilty of so many crimes, that public opinion loudly called for vengeance immediately after the death of the unfortunate Emperor; and the Regents considered the

opportunity extremely favourable for the execution of their project.

They drew up their accusation against the chief of the eunuchs, who was condemned to death, and executed amidst the applause of all Pekin; and on the same day the rest were dismissed from the palace and sent back to their families. After this, the Council of Regency had engraved, upon a plate of iron of more than a thousand pounds weight, a law by virtue of which the Mantchoo nation declared a resolution never again to raise eunuchs to any public dignity or office; a law still in force, and to which the successors of Chun-Tché are possibly in a great measure indebted for the long, peaceful, and prosperous reigns they have enjoyed.

When by the expulsion of the eunuchs the Regents had brought the affairs of the palace into somewhat better order, they began to consider the means of restoring peace to the maritime provinces of the empire, which were perpetually attacked and ravaged by a famous pirate, whose object was nothing less than the overthrow of the dynasty.

Under the last Emperor of the dynasty of Ming, the coasts of China were continually infested by pirates, whose power, descending regularly from father to son, had at length become so formidable as to rival that of the imperial throne itself.

A young Chinese of the province of Fo-kien, the son of poor parents, had quitted his native country from the pressure of poverty, and betaken himself to Macao, in hopes of making a fortune in the service of the foreigners, of whose riches he had heard so much. This adventurer, named Tching-che-Long, expressed, shortly after his arrival at Macao, a desire to embrace Christianity, and

was instructed and baptized accordingly, and he obtained for a godfather a rich Portuguese, who afterwards made him the heir of his fortune. Tching-che-Long, who was a very enterprising personage, embarked in mercantile life, and was before long one of the most wealthy and famous merchants of China. He became the owner of a great number of ships; his ambition appeared to increase with his riches, and he rose to high consideration in the empire. Opulence, however, though it often brings friends, also awakens envy; and the rich merchant of Macao was accused of being an enemy to the government, and the chief of a formidable conspiracy. The empire was at this period a prey to some of those terrible commotions which subsequently occasioned the fall of the dynasty; and the then reigning Emperor, instead of prosecuting the powerful and dangerous merchant, thought it more prudent to endeavour to attach him to the throne, and profit by his wealth and influence, and he therefore created him Grand Admiral of the maritime forces of the Celestial Empire.

Tching-che-Long was grateful for this imperial favour, and exerted himself for the benefit of him who had bestowed it; he assembled some troops, and marched to the deliverance of the Emperor, then besieged in Pekin by revolutionary armies; but the succour came too late. We have related in a preceding volume the fall of the dynasty and the invasion of the Mantchoo Tartars. The Grand Admiral, seeing that all was over, and he could do nothing more for his imperial master and benefactor, marked out a course for himself, and sought to provide for his own fortunes, in the midst of the anarchy which convulsed the empire. Tching-che-Long had a son no less brave and adventurous than

himself, and like him disposed to nourish ambitious projects, who bore the name of Kouo-Tchin, of which, from the Canton pronunciation, the Portuguese made *Coxinga.*

Both father and son attached themselves to the princes of the house of Ming, who were endeavouring to establish their authority in the southern provinces; but the party was too weak to re-conquer the empire, and before long was entirely dispersed, while the Grand Admiral and his son continued the war alone against all the naval force of the new Emperor, and the Tartars, at length despairing to conquer them by open force, tried to attract them by the offer of increased wealth and honour. Kouo-Tchin remained immoveable, but his father, weary of this life of risk and peril, allowed himself to be tempted, and went to Pekin, to make his submission to the Tartar conqueror.

The Emperor Chun-Tché at first showered riches and distinctions upon him, hoping by this means to induce the son to imitate the conduct of the father. But his expectation was not realised; on the contrary, Kouo-Tchin only became more violent in his hostility, and his numerous fleets carried death and destruction along the coasts.

The Tartar Emperor then despairing of success by the method he had adopted, changed his policy, and not only degraded Tching-che-Long from all the honours to which he had raised him, but stripped him of all his property, and reduced him to utter destitution. After having risen to such a giddy height, he found himself once more at the point from which he had set out in early life.

During his days of prosperity and grandeur, Tching-

che-Long had thought little enough of his baptism and his Christian duties; but, fortunately for him, adversity came to re-awaken in his mind the sentiments of religion, and he had the consolation of finding in the missionaries of Pekin charitable and affectionate friends, who hastened to supply him with daily bread for his body, while they strengthened his soul with the bread of life. His reverse of fortune thus proved a real source of blessing to this man, and the Divine grace was extended to him, so that he was enabled to endure with resignation poverty, exile, imprisonment, and ultimately the violent death by which the vicissitudes of his adventurous life were terminated.*

Kouo-Tchin swore to avenge the death of his father, and while he had been hitherto content to make his power felt along the sea-coast, he now, proclaiming implacable enmity to the Tartar power, sailed up the Blue River with all his force, and laid siege to Nankin.

The town, however, being vigorously defended by the Tartars, he was obliged to raise the siege, and go to sea again, on which he was more sure of success. It is stated that one day, after having beaten the Imperial fleet, he seized three thousand Tartars, and brutally ordered their noses to be cut off; and then sent them in that frightful state to Pekin, where the sight of the unfortunate creatures was so extremely displeasing to the Emperor, that he relieved his feelings by ordering them to be put to death, under pretence that they ought to have died rather than submit to a disgrace which was reflected upon the whole nation.

The conquerors of China could not, evidently, submit

* D'Orléans, "Histoire des Deux Conquérants de la Chine."

to abdicate thus the empire of the seas, and leave themselves in the hands of an audacious pirate, who openly defied their power, and threatened to found at Formosa an empire capable of destroying the commerce of the Chinese. After the death of the Emperor Chun-Tché, the four Regents determined to put an end at any cost to the ravages of Kouo-Tchin, and being convinced that they could not at sea make head against the numerous fleets of pirates, they came to a desperate, almost savage resolution, likely to try to the utmost the obedience of the Chinese people. They published an edict, by which the inhabitants of all the maritime provinces were enjoined to retire three or four leagues inland, and, as they fled, to destroy their villages and their corn-fields, and thus leave an immense desert between the pirates and the Celestial Empire. The heaps of ruins lying along the shore were to be a new Great Wall of China, opposed to the incursions of the barbarians of the sea. The measure, desperate as it seemed, was entirely successful; the Regents were obeyed, and this covetous people of China, so strongly attached to their property, were seen tearing down their habitations and ravaging their fields with astonishing self-denial, in order to leave only a barren wilderness to the depredations of the corsair Kouo-Tchin. This memorable instance may serve to show of what the Chinese would be capable, if they should some day find it necessary to oppose the invasions of a powerful enemy. If they were fully aware of the advantage they have in the immense extent of their territory and their innumerable population, they would certainly not dread any blow that might be aimed at them by the hand of a foreign nation. Were they fully determined to employ all the resources that their

numbers and space afford them, they might paralyse the most learned strategy, and defy the most destructive engines of an unjust aggressor.

In the plan of destruction commanded by the Regents was involved considerable loss to the Christian missions; for all the chapels built on the sea-coast had to be pulled down, and the neophytes were compelled, like others, to seek an asylum in the interior of the country. Nay, in order to leave no resource or refuge to the pirates, no place where they might obtain the means of subsistence, the Regents had even decreed the destruction of Macao, and the order had gone forth to drive the Portuguese from it. Father Adam Schall, who still enjoyed great credit at Pekin, and whose long services were not forgotten, went to the Regents, and interceded with them in favour of the colony. He reminded them of the help these foreigners had afforded to the empire in times past, against a famous pirate of those days, who had been ravaging the coasts, and suggested how useful they might be in the present difficulties; also, that trade would suffer much by the expulsion of these merchants, through whom the productions and treasures of the West found their way into the Celestial Empire; and the Regents, moved by these considerations, ultimately spared Macao, and revoked the order to drive the Portuguese out of it.

It was a signal service that Father Schall had thus rendered, not only to the Portuguese colony and the commerce of China, but also to the Christian missions; for the destruction of Macao would have been a fatal blow to the propagation of the faith in those remote countries. It was necessary that the missionaries should have some tranquil and independent abode, at the gates

of the vast empire they were endeavouring to evangelize, whence they might maintain a regular intercourse with Europe, which might afford an asylum to their agents, and to themselves, in case of persecution, a place of sojourn, a temporary retreat, where they might wait for better days. The disappearance of this little European colony would leave them isolated in remote Asia, without any help or protection, and at the mercy of their enemies. Adam Schall, therefore, in protecting Macao, saved also the Christian mission; and with this last act closes the career of the zealous and illustrious missionary, for a short time afterwards he himself fell a victim to a bloody persecution.

On the death of the Emperor Chun-Tché, it was easy to foresee that the Christian religion would have some severe trials to go through. The four Regents, it was well known, were hostile to it and to the missionaries; but they did not, nevertheless, make any immediate manifestation of their ill-will. They seemed still to bear in mind the services rendered by Father Schall, and the attachment the late Emperor had felt to him. They had even the good taste to confer on him solemnly the title of *Preceptor of the young Prince* who was called to govern the empire. But though nothing appeared to be changed, it was felt by the missionaries that the atmosphere was charged, and that ere long the tempest would burst forth.

In 1664, a Mahometan astronomer, named Yang-Kouang-Sien, presented to the Regents a memorial and a formal accusation, full of blasphemies against Christianity, and of calumnies against the missionaries; and this violent attack was made so much the more boldly because Adam Schall was at that time in no state to defend him-

self or his brethren, a sudden attack of paralysis having deprived him of the use of speech as well as of his hands. It was not very difficult to obtain the condemnation of a man who could neither speak nor write; and the informer accused the missionaries of false doctrines, of ignorance of astronomy, of treasonable conspiracy, of having come to the flowery kingdom merely to introduce the spirit of faction and revolt, and of making use of the pretext of religion merely for the seduction of the liege subjects of the Emperor. It was also stated, that the temples where the Christians assembled were merely haunts where they concerted measures to defend themselves in case they should be attacked, and that in order the better to distinguish those of their proselytes on whom they could rely, the missionaries were in the habit of giving them little pieces of copper (medals), upon which were representations of figures of men and women, the explanation of which was reserved for the initiated. Yang-Kouang-Sien then concluded his memorial by drawing so horrible a picture of the Christian religion, that the Regents hastened to proscribe it, and forbid all Chinese subjects under pain of death to follow it. Those who had already embraced Christianity were enjoined to abandon it without delay; and to reward the zeal of the informer, he was appointed, in place of Adam Schall, President of the Board of Mathematics and Celestial Literature.*

This persecution was not confined within the limits of the capital. The viceroys of all the provinces of the empire received orders to seize on all the preachers of

* De Maillu, "Histoire Générale de la Chine," vol. ii. p. 72. Le Comte, "Mémoires de la Chine," vol. ii. p. 188. D'Orléans, "Histoire des Deux Conquérants de la Chine," p. 140.

the Gospel, and have them taken to Pekin, to be judged there. The Tribunal of Crimes was directed to subject them to the most rigorous examination, and to determine, conjointly with the Tribunal of Rites, upon the punishment to be inflicted on them. The missionaries in all parts of the empire were then immediately arrested, loaded with chains, and thrown into dungeons, while the satellites of the mandarins seized on their houses, sacked them from top to bottom, burnt their books, their sacred ornaments, and everything that bore a vestige of a religious purpose.

The tribunals of Pekin were occupied for a long time with their trials, and that of Father Adam Schall, who was regarded as chief and doctor of the Christian law, was conducted with particular formality. It was a touching spectacle to see this venerable man at seventy-five years of age—he who had once been the friend of the Emperor, and the oracle of the court—now kneeling before his judges like a common criminal, sinking under the pressure of infirmity as well as of age, and unable to utter a single word in his own justification.

Father Verbiest undertook his defence, and endeavoured to draw the storm upon his own head, instead of that of Schall. He spoke in so generous and noble a strain that the audience could not help applauding him, and his heroic charity would have triumphed, and the slanderers been put to confusion, if the resolution had not been taken beforehand to exterminate Christianity. But the missionaries were ordered back to prison, each with nine heavy chains upon him, and guarded by ten satellites. Perpetually surrounded by a vile soldiery, who heaped insults upon them—compelled by the weight of their fetters to remain always in a stooping position,

and shut up in foul unclean dungeons, their sufferings were terrible.

They were sometimes taken from them, but it was to be carried before the Tribunal of Rites in the midst of a terrific display, and it was on one of those occasions that the Dominican Father Coronatus met Schall and Verbiest at the entrance of the judgment-hall; and he prostrated himself at the feet of the Jesuits, and kissed the fetters which they wore so worthily for the name of Christ. At length, on the 16th of January, 1665, the missionaries were found guilty, and the Christian religion, as false and pernicious, was proscribed throughout the empire.

The sentence was pronounced by the Tribunal of Rites, but the Tribunal of Crimes was to determine the nature of the punishment which the condemned were to undergo. The missionaries were accordingly taken to this last tribunal, and then the interrogatories were re-commenced, accompanied, as usual, by horrible ill-treatment of the prisoners. Father Schall was always the chief object of hatred, but though, as we have said, speechless from paralysis, Providence had given him an eloquent advocate in his companion in captivity, Father Verbiest, and now again he was heard demonstrating the sanctity of the Christian religion to the mournful accompaniment of the rattling of his chains.

The Tribunal of Crimes had probably seldom listened to such pathetic, courageous, and self-denying eloquence; but the judges were too malignant, and too much under the dominion of passion, to allow themselves to be convinced. On the 15th of April, 1665, the missionaries were condemned to be scourged with rods, and then exiled to the remotest wilds of Tartary—all except Adam Schall, who, as chief of the sect that preached

rebellion, was condemned to be strangled. This punishment, however, was afterwards thought too light, and the court assembled again to consider it, and then ordered that he should be "cut in a thousand pieces"—regarded as the most degrading as well as the most cruel punishment that can be inflicted.

The body of the condemned is cut to pieces, beginning with the extremities, and after every amputation, the flow of blood is stopped with quicklime or red-hot irons.

This horrible sentence was, previously to its execution, presented to the Regents for confirmation; but—it is recorded in the Annals of China* that on the 16th of April, the very day when the Regents were to meet for this formality—some tremendous shocks of earthquake occurred, which threw all Pekin into consternation. The terrified populace rushed through the streets and public places, uttering loud lamentations, and at every new shock the cries redoubled. The Regents themselves were so alarmed that they did not dare to pronounce sentence on Adam Schall.

Earthquakes are at all times a great cause of terror to the Chinese; for they imagine them signs that the heavens are angry, and disposed to chastise, if not to exterminate, the earth.

The populace generally rushed to the pagodas, uttering fearful cries; expiatory processions are got up, and supplications addressed to Heaven to appease its anger; and it is common in such circumstances for the government to perform some signal act of clemency, with the view of warding off the misfortunes that threaten the nation.

* De Mailla, "Histoire Générale de la Chine," vol. ii. p. 88. Le Comte, "Mémoires de la Chine," vol. ii. p. 190.

This is what took place in 1665; the prisons were opened by order of the Regents, and the condemned sent back to their families. The missionaries were set at liberty, and taken to Canton, but the magistrates there had orders to watch and guard them strictly. Among these missionaries were three Dominicans, and one Franciscan, but the majority, namely twenty-one, were Jesuits. Four of the latter order had, notwithstanding all that had passed, been retained at Pekin by the Regents, on account of the services they might be able to render to the government; but from the general amnesty Father Schall was excepted.

Happily for him, however, the shocks of the earthquake re-commenced, and a fire broke out in the imperial palace; and in the midst of the general consternation his enemies did not dare to execute the sentence upon him. Souy, the president of the council of regency, convoked his colleagues, and told them that the honours that had been conferred upon Tang-Jo-Wang *, by the Emperor Chun-Tché, ought to be a reason for great caution, and that it was to be feared that the present young Emperor, when he should come of age, might call them to account for their treatment of a man whom his father had loved and protected. He advised them, therefore, before putting him to death, to obtain a decision on the subject from the Empress-Mother, that might serve to exculpate them, if they were ever troubled about it. Souy had devised this expedient with the view of saving Adam Schall, and his colleagues fortunately followed his advice.

The Council of Regency betook themselves solemnly

* The Chinese name of Father Schall.

to the Empress-Mother, and presented for her sanction the sentence which condemned Tang-Jo-Wang to be "cut into a thousand pieces;" but, instead of approving, she expressed the utmost indignation at it—threw it on the ground, trampled it under foot, and demanded of the Regents whether they had already forgotten the esteem and regard her son had had for a man whom they ought to have treated with respect, instead of punishing as a criminal.

She then ordered that Adam Schall should be immediately set at liberty, and he was accordingly brought back to his house, where some devoted Christians were waiting for him, and received him with tears of joy. The ignominious sentence was not yet revoked; but it only served to cover him with glory in their eyes, for having, at the peril of his life, defended their religion. He was worn out, however, by long imprisonment and the sufferings he had undergone, and within a year afterwards, on the 15th of August, 1665, the venerable apostle yielded his soul to God, at the age of seventy-six.

The Jesuits have sometimes been reproached with the brilliant position they occupied at the court of the "Son of Heaven;" but the earthly glory that sometimes crowned their brows for a brief period was almost sure to be replaced, sooner or later, by a crown of thorns. It is written that "the disciple is not above his master," and the apostle who has enjoyed an hour of triumph at Jerusalem must expect to have afterwards to tread the painful road to Calvary.

The commencement of the year 1666 was marked by the death of Souy, the oldest of the four Regents of the empire; and the epoch was a memorable one for China.

The young Emperor Khang-Hi was still but a child, but a child of extraordinary precocity. He had been brought up from his infancy in a private house with his mother, who had been the guide of his earliest years; but when at the death of Chun-Tché he was proclaimed Emperor, he went to inhabit the imperial palace, but desired still to be surrounded by the children who had hitherto been his companions. He formed a little court, in the midst of which he practised his future part of sovereign with astonishing success. He soon understood that he should be at the same time a warrior and a man of letters, since he would have to govern both Tartars and Chinese. The life that he led in the midst of his young comrades was serious, but full of activity; he was constantly occupied either in the military exercises that find so much favour in the eyes of the Tartars, or in the cultivation of science, which constitutes the greatest merit in the estimation of the Chinese. He was brave, energetic, and persevering in whatever he undertook; and endowed with an intellect at once sound and lively; and all these qualities manifesting themselves early, gave reasonable hope that his reign would be prosperous for the empire, and glorious to the Tartar-Mantchoo dynasty.

Khang-Hi was only fourteen years old when the death of Souy, the first Regent, was one day announced to him; and he immediately called together the Council of Regency, the Supreme Courts, and the grand dignitaries of the empire. The young prince then presented himself with noble confidence in the midst of this imposing assembly, and after a moment of profound and solemn silence, he declared that the Council of Regency existed no longer, and that from that moment he would himself

assume the reins of government. This, as we have said, was at the beginning of the year 1666, and nearly at the same time, at the other extremity of the world, a similar event had taken place—another powerful minister, who had governed a great empire, had departed during the minority of the sovereign. Immediately after the death of Mazarin, the young Louis XIV. was asked who was to govern France, and he replied, "I myself."

Thus in the East and in the West, in countries differing in their civilization so entirely from one another, we see inaugurated, under the same circumstances, at the same epoch, the two greatest reigns that have shed light upon the Chinese empire and the French monarchy.

Many of these remarkable analogies may be traced in the reigns of Louis XIV. and Khang-Hi, and it would not be uninteresting to follow out the parallel between the two sovereigns, who have rendered the history of their respective nations so illustrious. Both attained to power in the midst of war and civil discord; in their earliest years they were both called upon to restore peace to the interior of their dominions, and at the same time to render themselves formidable to foreign powers; then, after long struggles, sustained with incomparable genius and courage, both monarchs, victorious within and without, became the centres round which were grouped all the glories of their age.

"Although he was now only fifteen years old," say the Annals of China, "he ruled with a degree of wisdom and steadiness that excited the admiration of his subjects; he was careful to avoid the ordinary faults of youth, and he sought only to be loved by his people. The progress that he made in military tactics, as well as

in letters, placed him above those who were the most skilled in either department."*

Scarcely had he begun to reign before he proved that to reign worthily a prince does not need many years and long experience; and facts are related of him, even at that age, which history has found worthy of preservation. One day, it is said, Khang-Hi, passing near a tomb that appeared to be in a neglected state, enquired whose it was; and the courtiers who accompanied him replied that it was that of Tchoung-Tching, the last emperor of the dynasty of Ming.

At these words the young Tartar sovereign was seized with profound emotion, and throwing himself on his knees, and striking the earth with his forehead in token of respect, he exclaimed, while his words were interrupted by sobs—"Oh, Tchoung-Tching, pardon me thy misfortunes; thou knowest I could not have been the cause of them: thy subjects betrayed thee, and it was the iniquity of thy murderers that obliged thy servants to call us to their aid."

The generous prince then ordered perfumes to be burned on the abandoned sepulchre, gave orders that a handsome mausoleum should be raised there, and assigned a sufficient sum for having solemn sacrifices performed every year to this last representative of the Chinese monarchy.

The Emperor Khang-Hi was in his youth remarkable for his sincere love of his subjects, and his strong feeling of justice; and he never failed to protect the innocent and to punish the prevarications of the mandarins. Being one day engaged in hunting, the favourite diversion of the Tartars, he had left his attendants, and pro-

* De Maillu, "Histoire Générale de la Chine," vol. ii. p. 125.

ceeding along a lonely road, saw an old man sitting on the ground, and weeping bitterly. The young Emperor alighted from his horse, went up to the man without making himself known, and asked the cause of his sorrow.

The old man replied that it was of little use to tell him the cause, since he could not remedy it.

"Be of good courage, venerable old man," said the monarch. "Perhaps I would be of some use to you. Tell me the subject of your grief."

"Since your good heart disposes you to enquire into the cause of my misery, I will tell you, master," was the reply. "I had a little property in the neighbourhood of the imperial residence; the governor of the palace found my estate to his liking, he seized upon it, and has reduced me to beg my bread. I had a son, too, who might have been the support of my old age; but the governor has taken him to make him a slave. These things are the cause of my tears."

The young Emperor took the two hands of the unfortunate man in his, and said, "Calm your grief, venerable old man. This imperial palace—is it far from here?"

"Five *Li*, master."

"Very well—let us come together, and ask the governor to restore to you your property and your son."

"Ah, master!" cried the old man in a tone of despair, "have I not told you that this wicked man is the governor of an imperial palace? It would not be safe either for you or me to go to him. We should get nothing but insults and ill-treatment."

"Take courage," said the Emperor, "I am determined to take this step, and I hope it will lead to good."

The old man remarked the frank and noble deport-

ment of the young unknown, and began to feel more confidence, and he then said that he was ready to accompany the prince to the imperial palace; "but," he added, "I shall delay you a long time, master, for I am old, and I cannot follow the steps of your horse."

"That is true," said Khang-Hi, "you have attained to a venerable age, but I am young and strong; so you shall mount my horse, and I will walk."

The old man, however, would not accept this offer, and Khang-Hi therefore had recourse to the expedient of taking him up behind him, and they were proceeding in this manner when some mandarins of the imperial suite came up. The sovereign addressed to them a few words in the Tartar language, and they retired, though not without often turning to observe the singular situation of their young Emperor.

When the pair arrived at the imperial palace, Khang-Hi demanded to see the governor, and when he appeared the Sovereign stripped off his hunting dress, and showed the imperial dragon that he wore embroidered on his breast. The governor fell on his knees, and the old man tremblingly threw himself at the feet of his protector, who was raising him with great affability, when the princes of the blood and grand dignitaries who had been following the chase, issued from a valley, and came to range themselves round their imperial master, and Khang-Hi determined to make this brilliant throng the witnesses of the punishment of the wicked mandarin. After having reproached him bitterly, he ordered him to be beheaded, and then, addressing himself to the old man, who stood as if petrified, the Emperor said—

"Venerable old man, I restore to you the son and the estate which were taken from you, and from this moment

I appoint you governor of this palace; but take care that prosperity effects no change in your feelings or your conduct, or another may one day profit by your injustice."

Such, according to the Annals, was the young Emperor, who, at the period of which we have been speaking, had just commenced his reign, and who was soon to become the protector and the friend of the preachers of the gospel in China.

CHAP. II.

CONFERENCE AMONGST THE MISSIONARIES CALLED AT CANTON.—FATHER NAVARETTE.—HIS LABOURS.—HIS DEPARTURE FOR ROME.—HE OBTAINS A NEW DECISION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE RITES.—PERSECUTION.—ZEAL AND DEVOTION OF LOPEZ.—ERRORS OF THE CHINESE CALENDAR.—THE MISSIONARIES RECALLED TO CORRECT THEM.—TRIUMPH OF FATHER VERBIEST.—HE IS APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ASTRONOMY.—RECALL OF ALL THE MISSIONARIES.—RESTORATION OF THE NAME OF SCHALL TO HONOUR.—RELATIONS OF FATHER VERBIEST WITH THE EMPEROR.—THEIR SCIENTIFIC STUDIES.—DIPLOMA OF NOBILITY GRANTED TO FATHER VERBIEST.—EARTHQUAKE.—REVOLT OF THE GENERAL OU-SANG-KOUI.—HIS PROCLAMATION.—CHINA ON FIRE.—THE SON OF OU-SANG-KOUI STRANGLED AT PEKIN.—VICTORIES OF THE TARTARS.—CANNON FOUNDRY ESTABLISHED BY FATHER VERBIEST.—THE INSURRECTION SUPPRESSED.—GRAND JOURNEY OF THE EMPEROR IN TARTARY ACCOMPANIED BY FATHER VERBIEST.—ZEAL OF THAT MISSIONARY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH.

THE persecution raised by the astronomer Yang-Kouang-Sien, during the minority of the Emperor, Khang-Hi, had deprived the Church of China of its pastors at the very moment when the neophytes, pursued by the mandarins, had most need of consolation, encouragement, and support.

With the exception of the four missionaries who had been retained at Pekin, all had been brutally driven from their missions, and sent as exiles to Canton; and it was doubtless not without some special design of Providence that the Evangelical labourers of all orders, Jesuits,

Franciscans, and Dominicans, were thus mingled together in the same captivity. It seemed that the Lord had arranged for them this solemn interview, amidst the sorrows of exile, in order that being drawn together by common suffering, they might be brought to put an end to the unhappy divisions that had broken out among them in the exercise of their holy ministry; for misfortune has always a tendency to soothe the mind to a spirit of peace and harmony.

The missionaries assembled at Canton began, therefore, to turn to account the long leisure of their captivity, to confer together on the interests of religion in China, on the best method of preaching the Gospel, and on all that might be permitted or forbidden to those who should henceforth desire to be baptized. They were, for the most part, men zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of souls; and at the same time trained to prudence by a long course of experience of the rough trials of Apostleship. Well skilled in human science, and profoundly versed in the most arduous questions of theology, they had also made themselves well acquainted with the literature of the Chinese, and questioned the most erudite and cultivated men of the empire upon the true meaning of the worship of ancestors. The conferences among them were carried on in an amicable and conciliatory spirit, and many important questions, on the method of propagating the faith among infidels and recently converted Christians, happily settled; but unfortunately these honest and well-meaning men could not come to a right understanding on the subject of the Chinese ceremonies.

The Jesuits wished to tolerate the rites practised in honour of Confucius and the Ancestors, and referred

for the signification of these rites to the authority of the Chinese books, interpreted by the most learned men, and the most formal declaration of the neophytes; they alleged that their rites were of a purely civil character, in no way to be considered superstitious, and that a wise toleration of them would most materially promote the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity.

The Dominicans, on their side, also appealed to the opinions of learned men and mandarins, and to the confessions of their converts, for reasons why they should severely prohibit what the Jesuits were inclined to permit. They admitted that by a toleration of this superstitious worship of Ancestors, and of Confucius, the conversion of the Chinese might be made to proceed more rapidly; but they contended that these conversions were merely illusory; that under this system of toleration those who were nominally Christian neophytes, would be infant idolaters; and that it was scarcely worth while to wear out their lives in preaching to the Chinese, if they were to leave them pretty nearly what they had found them.

The missionaries of these two schools each maintained themselves obstinately in their own entrenchments, without making, on that point, any concession to one another. The chief of the Dominican party was the celebrated Navarette, by birth a Castilian, and one of the twenty-eight monks who had accompanied Father Moralés when he had returned to China, after having fulfilled his double mission, at Rome, and in Spain.

We have seen that these young and ardent apostles had arrived at the Philippine Islands in 1648; and they had immediately, without allowing themselves any time for repose, proceeded to disperse themselves among the

heathen natives of China, Japan, Cochin-China, and Tonquin, to announce to them the eternal truths of Christianity.

Father Navarette, on account of his great acquirements in science and theology, was detained by his superior at Manilla, that he might take the professorship of the College of Saint Thomas, a flourishing establishment founded at the commencement of the Spanish conquest, with the purpose of affording a superior kind of religious instruction to natives of the country, who might wish to prepare themselves for the theological profession.

While devoting his chief care to his pupils, Father Navarette studied with ardour the literature and science of the Chinese, and as great numbers of the Chinese were induced for industrial or commercial purposes to visit the Philippines, he had many opportunities of familiarising himself with the language, manners, and habits of the people whom he hoped one day to evangelize.

His great natural facility for acquiring languages enabled him to make rapid progress, and he was soon sufficiently advanced to study the most renowned philosophers and moralists in their native tongue, and to acquire clear ideas of their respective systems. This was the best method of entering into the true signification of the Chinese ceremonies, and forming a true estimate of them; but then, several of the Jesuit missionaries enjoyed the same advantage, and were able to judge in this controversy with equal authority.

After having remained eleven years at Manilla, and devoted all this time to study, Navarette went over to Macao, and preached with much distinction in the Lent

of 1659. He then entered on his mission in the interior of China, and as he had been long preparing for the labours of the ministry, he now gave himself up to them unreservedly; he evangelized, by turns, the provinces of Fo-Kien and The-Kiang, and his efforts were everywhere attended with brilliant success. The persuasion of his words, and the influence of his virtuous life brought numerous converts; and on the death of Father Moralès, Navarette succeeded him as Prefect Apostolic of the missions of the Dominican order in China.

All that Navarette had been able to see and hear in the two provinces where his work had been carried on, only strengthened him more and more in the opinion he had already adopted against the rites above-mentioned; and the experience of native Chinese having confirmed this opinion, he became inflexible in it, and would not yield to his neophytes the smallest point. This severity did not, nevertheless, offer any apparent obstacle to his success, for he made a great number of proselytes, and thought himself in a position victoriously to refute the Jesuits, who asserted that intolerance of these rites would present an insurmountable barrier to the propagation of the faith amongst the Chinese. The Jesuits admitted all the success of Father Navarette in making conversions, but declared that it would have been much greater if he had shown himself less severe with regard to ceremonies, which, after all, did no harm to the strictest orthodoxy.

In the meantime, Father Navarette, seeing no probable end to the captivity of the missionaries, and believing that they would not profit by this providential meeting to come to an agreement on the subject of the Chinese rites, but that the missions, when they should

be again in activity, would be henceforth only the scenes of division and quarrel among the Christians, determined to utilise, for what he regarded as the interest of Christianity, the time that would otherwise be wasted at Canton. He embarked therefore for Europe, and after the example of his predecessor, Father Moralès, he went to Rome, to make to the Holy See a full report of the controversy then pending in China.

It will be remembered that there had been already two pontifical decisions, one obtained by the Dominican Moralès, and the other by the Jesuit Martini — the one approving, the other condemning, the Chinese rites, according to the view of the matter furnished to the Pope by the two parties; and Father Navarette now urged that there should be an end of this fatal indecision, which must otherwise inevitably terminate in the speedy and complete ruin of the missions. He informed the sovereign Pontiff and the cardinals of the studies he had made, and the personal labour he had undergone in connection with that question; he reported what he had seen in China in the course of his career, and rendered an account of all that had been stated in the Canton conferences: in a word, he neglected nothing that could tend to enlighten the pontifical court on the matter in hand; and he ultimately succeeded in obtaining a decision condemnatory of the worship of ancestors and Confucius.

During his stay at Rome, Navarette attracted so much attention from his learning, his virtue, and his eminent qualities, that the Cardinal desired to elevate him to the episcopal rank, and intrust him with the general authority over all the missions of China; but he himself did not consider that he had any claim to this high

mark of confidence, and declined the honour, though the precise motives of his refusal are not stated by Touron, the historian of illustrious men of the order of St. Dominic, who relates the circumstance. It is not, however, difficult to divine them. The celebrated antagonist of the Jesuits, in the question of the rites, doubtless saw in the position offered to him an excellent opportunity for obtaining the triumph of his principles; but he must also have seen the tremendous difficulties he would have to encounter, and he did not believe that he should be able to acquire sufficient influence over the minds of his adversaries to effect a reconciliation. Persuaded therefore that his return to China would be of no advantage to the missions, he took the resolution of retiring into Spain, and subsequently became Bishop of St. Domingo in New Spain.

Whilst the missionaries exiled to Canton were disputing amongst themselves concerning the orthodoxy of their neophytes, the missions were silent and desolate, and the poor Chinese converts, whatever might be their opinions touching the worship of ancestors, were all confounded together in the persecutions of the mandarins, without the possibility of receiving any consolation from their spiritual fathers. But they were not left entirely without help in their trials; for one of their own countrymen, animated by a zeal and devotion very uncommon in a Chinese, was of the greatest service to them in bringing to many different places the balm of religious consolation. This was Gregory Lopez, of whose career we have already spoken, and who, undaunted by the many perils to which he exposed himself, was seen day and night traversing the country, in the neighbourhood of missions lying widely remote

from each other, — searching out the Christians hidden in the gorges of the mountains, and in the boats of fishermen on the rivers; and inventing a thousand different stratagems to elude the vigilance of the mandarins, and afford succour to his persecuted brethren.

Thus, while the missionaries confined to Canton could only offer up prayers for their Christian converts, surrounded as they were by every species of snare that could induce them to apostatise, the Chinese Dominican Lopez was traversing every province of the empire where the fire of persecution was most active, — visiting, consoling, sustaining the weak in faith, administering sacraments, bringing back apostates, and, even in the midst of unheard-of difficulties, making new conquests to Jesus Christ. Father Navarette, who, being then in China, was able to estimate on the spot the admirable zeal of this Chinese missionary, informs us in one of his narratives addressed to the General of the Preaching Friars, that, during the two years and a half in which Lopez was journeying through the vast provinces of China, not only did he strengthen the weak-hearted, and restore to religion, through penitence, a great number of new Christians who had yielded to fear or to violence; but he was also powerful enough in word and in works to convert, at the same time, a multitude of infidels, and bestow baptism on no less than two thousand five hundred pagans.*

We shall find, in the sequel, that the Holy See appreciated and recompensed the noble exertions of this indefatigable apostle.

We have stated that when the missionaries were sent

* Touron, vol. v. p. 739.

to Canton, four of their number had been excepted from the sentence, and kept at Pekin, and amongst their number was Father Verbiest.

A church had been assigned to them at a place of confinement ; and there, hoping always for better days, they remained for the space of four years. After this period of tribulation, it pleased God to restore to his Church in China a little of the liberty which is so necessary for the propagation of the faith ; and the man who had been the chief cause of the persecution and exile of the missionaries, became, in the hands of God, the instrument of restored prosperity to the Christian religion.

Yang-Kouang-Sien, the ambitious and enterprising mandarin, who had attacked the European missionaries with so much violence in the Supreme Courts, had put himself ostentatiously forward as the defender of the doctrines of antiquity and the national honour. But he was, in fact, desirous only of serving his personal interest, and his hypocritical zeal for the public good was a mere mask under which he concealed his ambition. After having destroyed the reputation of Father Schall, he had clothed himself with his spoils, and succeeded to his office,— the Presidency of the Board of Mathematics. It was a post that he had been long coveting, for he laid claim to the title of an astronomer, and boasted of being well skilled in " Celestial Literature." After the death of Father Schall, therefore, Yang-Kouang-Sien was intrusted with the preparation of the Imperial Calendar.

It is well known that the publication of the Calendar is in China an affair of great moment. The Emperor himself distributes copies to the principal persons of his court ; and the princes of the blood, and the Presidents

of the Supreme Courts, receive the gift on their knees. Calendars are sent off, inclosed in yellow cases, to tributary kings and princes of Mongolia; and to refuse to receive them would be equivalent to a most audacious declaration of rebellion. When the empire is passing through a revolutionary crisis, and there are several pretenders to the throne, every one makes his own almanack; and accepting one or the other amounts to an acknowledgment of the claims of that candidate. It is a kind of universal suffrage exercised for the election of the Head of the state, and it may therefore well be imagined what importance the sovereigns of China attach to this publication.

Since Yang-Kouang-Sien had been placed at the head of the Board of Celestial Literature, the nation had appeared to place little confidence in the Calendars, as they were fabricated under his direction, and his astronomical knowledge was regarded as very equivocal. The great dignitaries of the empire especially expressed their opinions of him without reserve, and asserted that Yang-Kouang-Sien did not know how to contemplate the stars, and calculate their movements with precision. The Emperor Khang-Hi, who was still very young, though in the seventh year of his reign, had heard of these doubts concerning the accuracy of the Calendar, and desired to have the matter explained to him. He questioned his ministers, but they confessed their incompetency on this point, and one of them remarked that the skill of the European mathematicians in astronomy was known throughout the empire; and added, that though the majority of them had been exiled during his Majesty's minority, there were a few still left in

Pekin, and that it might be prudent to consult them about the errors of the Calendar. The Emperor approved of this suggestion, and sent four Colaos, or ministers of the empire, to make the inquiry whether in the Calendar of the passing year, or in that now preparing for the following one, any inaccuracies were to be found. Father Verbiest replied, that both the one and the other were full of them; and he pointed out that the ignorant astronomer had given thirteen lunar months to the following year, while only twelve were wanted. It is well known that the Chinese divide their year into lunar months, and that, as the lunations do not always agree with the signs of the zodiac, it is sometimes necessary to insert an intercalary month. Yang-Kouang-Sien, thinking perhaps that intercalary months did not cost much, was liberal in the bestowal of them, and presented some to years that had no occasion for them.

The mandarins being informed of this gross error, and of several others, made their report to the Emperor immediately, and he was so much struck by it, that he ordered that the missionaries should be sent for the very next day.

At the appointed hour Father Verbiest and his brethren made their appearance, and were introduced into the great hall, where were assembled all the mandarins of the Tribunal of Astronomy, and in their presence Verbiest was required to point out the errors of the Calendar.

The young Emperor, however, who had never seen the missionaries, desired that they should be brought to his apartments, and that the astronomical mandarins should accompany them; he then had Father Verbiest placed opposite to him, and said, in a very gracious tone,

"Is it true then that you can show us clearly whether our Calendar agrees with the heavens or not?"

Verbiest replied, that the demonstration was not difficult; and that the instruments in the observatory were chiefly intended to spare the trouble of tedious methods to persons occupied with affairs of state, and show them in a moment the harmony of their calculations with the state of the heavens. "If your Majesty," continued the missionary, "desires to make the experiment, will you be pleased to order a chair or a table to be placed in one of the courts of the palace; and I will calculate the proportion of the shadow at any hour you please. By the length of the shadow it will be easy for me to determine the height of the sun, and from its height its place in the zodiac; afterwards it will be easy to find whether it is the true place that is found marked for every day in the Calendar." This proposal pleased the Emperor, but threw the mandarins into consternation, and Khang-Hi, who had much penetration, perceived their embarrassment; he asked them whether they understood this method of calculation, and could tell as much from the mere length of the shadow.

Yang-Kouang-Sien boldly replied, that he did understand this method, and that it was a sound one for finding out the truth; and he added, moreover, that it was beneath the dignity of the Chinese Empire to receive scientific assistance from the men of Europe, — that barbarous country, where the principles of true civilisation were entirely unknown; and then, taking advantage of the patience with which this harangue was listened to, he launched forth into invectives upon the Christian religion. As he had just been publicly convicted of ignorance in astronomy, he endeavoured to retaliate by

attacking the religion of the Europeans, and proclaiming that there, at least, great errors were to be found.

"See," he cried, stretching out his arms in the form of a cross, "behold what these men adore! A man crucified! A man hung! — judge by that of their good sense, and their intellectual capacity." *

This violence displeased the Emperor, and he interrupted Yang-Kouang-Sien, observing coldly —

"I have said that the past is to be forgotten, and that we have now only to think of astronomy. How dare you, in my presence, give utterance to such language? Have you not yourself, in various memorials, prayed me to have skilful astronomers sought for through all parts of the empire? Have we not been seeking for four years without finding any? Nan-Hoai-Jen (Father Verbiest)† who understands mathematics perfectly well, was all the while in Pekin, and you never spoke to me of his knowledge. I see that you consult only your own prejudices, and that you are not a man of good faith." The young Emperor, then resuming his smiling aspect, addressed several questions to Father Verbiest on the subject of astronomy, and gave orders to the first minister to make the arrangements necessary for the proposed experiment.

From that time it became evident to the politicians of Pekin that Khang-Hi was disposed to favour the European; for the young Emperor was anxious to surround himself with meritorious persons, and showed much sagacity in discovering them. The European physiognomy too appeared to please him, for he declared

* Le Comte, v. ii. p. 193. Le Carton, "Notice of F. Verbiest," p. 15.

† It is known that the missionaries in China were in the habit of taking Chinese names, and Nan-Hoai-Jen, which Father Verbiest had adopted, signifies "Man endowed with humanity."

he found it full of intelligence, uprightness, and honesty, —qualities that are certainly not very remarkable upon the generality of Chinese faces. It was not difficult to argue that the missionaries would probably some day be in high credit with a prince who was passionately devoted to science and letters, and cultivated them with remarkable success; and the courtiers reflected it would be prudent not to compromise themselves with the barbarians who might one day be powerful at the court.

When all was ready for the proposed experiments, Yang-Kouang-Sien thought it best to acknowledge that he knew nothing about Father Verbiest's method of calculation; and the Emperor having been informed of this, was so indignant at his impudence that he would have had him punished on the spot, if he had not considered it more advisable to postpone his chastisement till after the experiment of the missionaries,— in order to convince even his partisans and protectors that he deserved it.

The first trial was to be made in the observatory, in the midst of an immense concourse of mandarins, who had come from all parts to verify the calculations made in this important affair; and the sun did not fail, at the moment indicated, to fall upon the precise line traced by Father Verbiest to mark the extremity of the shadow — all the mandarins appearing extremely astonished at the result.

The Emperor listened, with eager interest, to all that was told him concerning the experiment, and commanded that it should be repeated, the following day, in the grand court of the palace. He himself assigned two feet two inches as the length of the index; and Verbiest, having prepared two boards, graduated accordingly, the one to be placed perpendicularly, the other for

a horizontal, carried them the next day to the palace. The sun was then approaching the winter solstice; and the shadows were consequently longer than at any other time of the year. The numerous mandarins who were assisting in the experiment, seeing that the shadow projected into the court was very far from the point marked on the horizontal plate, began to whisper to one another and smile maliciously, under the idea that the missionary had made some mistake. But a little before noon, the shadow, having reached the board, suddenly became shortened, and appearing near the transverse line, fell precisely on the hour. Immediately the mandarins burst into loud expressions of surprise and admiration, and the first minister exclaimed, "We have here a great man."

The success of the observation was reported to the Emperor — the machine presented to him, and received very graciously; but, as he considered that an affair of this importance could not be studied with too much care, he desired that the observation should be taken for the third time, from the top of the astronomical tower. Verbiest made it accordingly, and with so much success, that his enemies themselves, who had by the Emperor's order been present at all the operations, could not refrain from doing him justice, and extolling the European method of calculation.

After this triple triumph, Father Verbiest received an official order to examine the Calendar of Yang-Kouang-Sien; and there was no difficulty in discovering in it a great number of errors, of manifest contradictions, and of terrible confusion in the general plan of the work. The learned missionary, having noted down the grossest faults in each lunar month,— with relation to

the movements of the planets,— made a statement of them in a memorial and had it presented to the Emperor. Immediately, as if it had been an affair concerning the safety of the empire, Khang-Hi convoked a general assembly of all the princes, superior mandarins, and principal officers of the supreme courts of Pekin, to whom he submitted the memorial of Father Verbiest, in order that every one might give his opinion on the resolution to be taken in this great and important business.

The Emperor did not like the Regents who had governed the empire during his minority; he disapproved their system of administration, and principally their injustice in having preferred the astronomers of China to those of Europe. He had therefore resolved, by the advice of some of his principal confidants, to profit by this circumstance to cancel all their acts; and it was with this view that he had convoked this solemn assembly. After long deliberations upon the memorial of Father Verbiest, the assembly declared unanimously that the rectification of the Calendar was a matter of the highest moment; that astronomy was a difficult science, with which few persons had much acquaintance; and that it would be necessary publicly to examine, with the instruments of the observatory, the errors reported in the memorial. This proposal having received the approbation of the Emperor, Verbiest and Yang-Kouang-Sien both received orders, to prepare, without delay, to take observations of the sun and the planets, and to put into writing the method which they would employ in the operation: an order which the missionary gladly obeyed, and presented his papers, when prepared, to the mandarins of the Court of Rites.

The experiments, when made for the third time, had a similar result to that of the two previous occasions*, and when it was communicated to Khang-Hi, he ordered that the affair should be finally investigated before his council; but the Chinese astronomers, whose calculations had been shown to be erroneous, obtained, contrary to custom, permission to be present, and contrived, by sundry stratagems, to divide the suffrages of the assembly. The mandarins, who were at the head of the council, could not endure to see Chinese astronomy compelled to give way to that of Europe: they maintained that such innovations were inconsistent with the dignity of the empire; and that it was much better to retain ancient methods with all their defects, than to introduce new ones, especially if they necessitated the presence of foreigners. They also took occasion to compliment the Chinese astronomers for the zeal they had manifested for the glory of the empire, and proclaimed them the defenders of ancestors and of a venerable antiquity.

* The first observation was to be made on the day when the sun enters the fifteenth degree of Aquarius. A great quadrant, which Verbiest had eighteen days before fixed in the place of the meridian, and sealed with his own seal, showed the altitude of the sun for the day, and the minute of the ecliptic it was to reach before noon. The sun did, in fact, fall precisely on the spot indicated, whilst a sextant of six feet radius, placed at the height of the equator, showed the declination. A fortnight afterwards, Father Verbiest had the same success in observing, with the same instruments, the entrance of the sun into the sign of Pisces. This observation was necessary to determine whether the intercalary month should be retrenched, and the necessity was clearly proved. With respect to the planets, whose places had to be observed during the night, Verbiest calculated their distance from the fixed stars, and marked it several days before on a planisphere, in presence of several mandarins, and at the hour fixed by the Emperor.

The Tartar mandarins, however, embraced the opposite opinion, and attached themselves to the side favoured by the Emperor — namely, that of Father Verbiest. The discussion was a very animated one; and at last, Yang-Kouang-Sien, who had gained over the ministers of state, and fully counted on their protection, had the audacity to say to the Tartars, "If you decide in favour of Nan-Hoai-Jen, and accept the astronomy that he brings you from Europe, you may be assured the empire of the Tartars will not be of long duration."

These words threw the Tartar mandarins into a transport of indignation; and the Emperor, in his wrath, ordered the rash Yang-Kouang-Sien to be loaded with chains and taken to the public prison. He was brought to trial, the tribunals were unanimous in condemning him; all his former friends now turned against him; and he was condemned to death, but the Emperor, pitying his advanced age, commuted the punishment into perpetual exile in the steppes of Tartary.

This event secured a splendid triumph for Father Verbiest; whose experiments, nevertheless, requiring nothing more than clear ideas of the very first principles of astronomy, give us a pretty good notion of what the state of science in the Celestial Empire must have been; but these early successes of the Jesuits had the happiest consequences for the missions.

"It would be difficult," says Father Verbiest, "to form an idea of the influence that this affair exercised upon this vain and proud nation. They could not help the reflection, that if the astronomical knowledge of these Europeans — which they seemed to regard only as a kind of recreation, and a mere secondary matter — were shown to be so well in harmony with the laws of

heaven, it did not seem improbable that the religion which they professed with so much zeal, and which they have come from the other end of the world to preach, should also be conformable to reason."

Father Verbiest, having convinced the Emperor, the court, and the people of the ignorance of Yang-Kouang-Sien, was declared President of the Tribunal of Mathematics, with orders to reform the Calendar and the methods of astronomical calculation hitherto in use in China. As a commencement to the exercise of his functions, he presented a memorial to the Emperor, in which he explained the necessity of retrenching the intercalary month, which, according to the calculation of the Chinese astronomers, belonged to the following year.

The Emperor received the memorial favourably, and had it examined by his council, but all the members opposed it on the ground of the changes that would have to be made in public documents throughout the provinces, by which they considered the national honour would be seriously compromised. How could such a mistake as this be acknowledged in the face of the Celestial Empire! How confess to the tributary nations that the Son of Heaven had sent them a Calendar by no means in harmony with the stars! The mandarins then presented some petitions in opposition to that of Father Verbiest, but they did not succeed in their attempt. At length, they called together all the members of the Tribunal of Mathematics, to the number of a hundred and sixty, in the hope of inducing Father Verbiest to give up his purpose; and one of the principal officers was sent to him, to entreat him to think of some plan to disguise the error, instead of correcting it, and thus save the *prestige* of the Celestial government in the eyes

of the people and of foreign courts. The President, however, remained inflexible, declaring that the retrenchment of the intercalary month appeared to him indispensable; that if the heavens and the Calendar disagreed, it was not in his power to reconcile them; and that unless the heavens would make concessions to the Chinese astronomers, the Chinese astronomers must give way to the heavens. Ultimately, the Emperor, in his quality of Son of Heaven, cut the matter short, and issued an edict for the suppression of the much talked-of intercalary month.

The astonishment that prevailed throughout the Empire, as well as among the neighbouring nations, when it became known that a certain Nan-Hoai-Jen, a barbarian from the remotest West, had been allowed to cut a month out of the Calendar, it is difficult to describe; but from that time the reputation of Europeans in China rose considerably, and the Christians were able at length to look forward to a termination of their sufferings.

Father Verbiest availed himself of the confidence placed in him by the Emperor to obtain the permission for the return of the missionaries exiled to Canton, and the free exercise of their religion throughout the empire. An opportunity for this was readily found, as the Emperor, desiring to annul the decrees of his guardians, the Regents, had published an edict, desiring all who had suffered any wrong during his minority to have recourse to him; and Father Verbiest immediately presented a memorial, in which he complained that by an act of flagrant injustice, the Regent, abusing his authority, had proscribed the law of the true God, and banished from the empire those who preached it. This petition was at first rejected by the tribunal charged

with the examination of it, but Father Verbiest did not allow himself to be discouraged; he demanded other judges, and the Emperor condescended to grant his request, and brought the affair before a general assembly of Grand Mandarins, who took seven whole days to deliberate upon it, after which they came to a decision that the Christian law had been unjustly condemned, and contained nothing contrary to the welfare of the state, or the duties of its subjects. The exiled missionaries were then recalled, and permission given them to return to their churches and exercise their ministerial functions; the Christian mandarins, who had been dismissed from various posts, were publicly restored to them, and the *amende honorable* made to the memory of Father Adam Schall. His titles were restored, his ancestors ennobled, and the Emperor allotted a considerable sum to build for him a superb mausoleum, ornamented with marble statues, and symbolical figures, according to the custom of the country. This fine mausoleum, which was worthy of the great Emperor at whose expense it was erected, as well as of the illustrious missionary it was intended to honour, was still to be seen in the environs of Pekin, in the year 1850, when we ourselves saw it there.

The imperial decree, which brought so much consolation to the desolated Christian communities of the Chinese Empire, bears the date of March, 1671. Though very favourable to the Christians, it did not, nevertheless, grant them perfect liberty, for it forbade the Chinese for the future from embracing Christianity; but this clause was, after all, not very strictly observed, and appears to have been inserted chiefly for the purpose of conciliating, in some measure, the party of Yang-

Kouang-Sien. The missionaries had no sooner returned to their former abodes, than they not only set about repairing the losses occasioned by the persecution, but founded many new establishments; in this one year, notwithstanding the prohibition, more than twenty thousand new converts received baptism; and amongst these courageous and fervent neophytes were to be counted the maternal uncle of the Emperor, and the Generalissimo of the Tartar forces.*

Father Verbiest, who was the life and soul of all that was done in China for the glory of God and the advancement of religion, was every day getting more and more into favour with the Emperor. This young sovereign had a most active and inquiring mind, was indefatigable in study, and had a decided taste for scientific pursuits. For more than five months he summoned Father Verbiest daily into the interior apartments of the palace, and kept him almost the whole day giving him lessons in mathematics, and especially in astronomy. He had in his library all the scientific books written in Chinese by the Jesuits, a collection amounting to a hundred and twenty volumes, and he desired to have them all explained to him.

"I used," says Father Verbiest†, "to go to the palace at break of day, and did not quit it till three or four in the afternoon; and during this time I remained alone with the Emperor reading and explaining. Very often he would keep me to dinner, and entertain me with most dainty dishes, served on gold plate. To appreciate fully these marks of friendship shown me by the Emperor, a European must remember that in China

* D'Orléans, "Histoire des Deux Conquérants Tartares," p. 163.

† "Astronomia Perpetua," p. 33.

the sovereign is revered as a divinity, and is scarcely seen by any one, especially not by foreigners. Those who come from the most distant courts, as ambassadors, consider themselves fortunate if they are admitted but once to a private audience, and even then the Emperor is only seen by them at a considerable distance, from a neighbouring apartment. The ministers, and even his nearest relations, appear before him in silence, and with manifestations of the most profound respect, and when they have occasion to speak to him they always kneel."

The Emperor having discovered that the books of Euclid contained the principal elements of mathematics, desired that Verbiest should explain to him the six first, translated into Chinese by Father Ricci; and he studied them with wonderful perseverance. Though he understood Chinese perfectly well, he got these books translated into Mantchoo, and in order to render his intercourse with the learned missionary still more easy and unrestrained, he desired one of his attendants to teach him the Tartar language.

Khang-Hi also availed himself of the talents of Father Verbiest to study other branches of philosophy, and even music; but the apostle of Jesus Christ, while cultivating the mind of the monarch, endeavoured still more to form his heart to virtue, and initiate him into the science of salvation. He began by undeceiving him entirely concerning the pagan fables and superstitions, and, little by little, watching for the most favourable moments, and availing himself of the monarch's eager desire for knowledge, he instructed him in the truths which form the subject of Christian faith, explained to him the most sublime mysteries, and enabled him to feel their sanctity.

So deeply impressed was the sovereign with the instructions of the missionary, that he was one day heard to remark, that the Christian sect would, by degrees, destroy all others; yet even he did not dare to declare himself openly, but contented himself with protecting a religion whose purity and excellence he so much admired. He had for the preachers of the Gospel a genuine regard, founded not merely on the great capacity of Father Verbiest, whom he considered the wisest man in his empire, but on his conviction of the purity of their morals, and the austere and laborious lives they led in their own homes; for the Chinese monarch had certain though secret ways of becoming acquainted with all that passed in the interior of the missions, and even the most private religious exercises and mortifications of the missionaries. He was persuaded that their zeal for his service was disinterested, and had no other object than the cause of religion, and its extension throughout the empire.

It was by means of European science that the missionaries hoped to attain this object, but they found it necessary to begin by undeceiving the Chinese as to the false idea they had formed of themselves; and already the experiments of Father Verbiest had convinced them that in astronomy, the Europeans had surer principles and more perfect instruments than they. This was a great step. The members of the Tribunal of Mathematics were so impressed with the superiority of their new President, and had so much confidence in his talents, that at last, overcoming their jealousy, they addressed a petition to the Emperor, praying him to give orders to Father Verbiest to have new instruments made on European principles for the observatory; a request

Khang-Hi approved, and he charged Father Verbiest with this difficult and important undertaking. The skilful and learned missionary set to work immediately; his efforts were crowned with the most complete success, and he afterwards wrote sixteen volumes in Chinese to explain the use of the machinery.*

Verbiest was indefatigable in his exertions, and gifted with astonishing facility; and in a comparatively short time had completed a monumental work on astronomy and mathematical science, in thirty-two volumes, and ornamented with plates and explanations, — a work which Khang-Hi reviewed with the most lively satisfaction, and ordered to be placed in the archives of the empire. As a reward for the labours of the learned and zealous European, he promoted him to the dignity of Supreme President of a Sovereign Court of Pekin; but when the modest monk heard of the distinction by which he had been honoured, he addressed a petition to the Emperor, in which he pointed out that the religious profession he had embraced did not permit him to accept it. His objections, however, were overruled, and, for fear of offending the monarch, and hindering the progress of religion, he reluctantly submitted, and received the following diploma: —

> "Eulogium and Titles granted to Nan-Hoai-Jen, in a general Assembly held to compliment the Emperor, on the occasion of the birth of a successor to the empire.

* "These instruments," says Father Le Comte, who examined them in the Observatory of Pekin, "are large, well made, and ornamented with figures of dragons, of exquisite workmanship; and if the accuracy of the divisions corresponded with the rest of the work, and that, instead of sight vanes, they had been furnished with perspective glasses, we could hardly find anything of the kind to com-

"ORDER OF THE SON OF HEAVEN.

"The form of a well-regulated state requires that fine actions when known, and services rendered to the state with prompt good-will, should be recompensed and receive the rewards they merit; and that is what we do by these present letters patent, which it is our pleasure shall be published throughout the empire, to make known to all what esteem we have for services rendered to us with so much perseverance and assiduity.

"For this reason, you, Nan-Hoai-Jen, to whom I have intrusted the care of my Imperial Calendar, who have shown so much uprightness, vigilance, and sincerity in my service, as well as profound knowledge which you have acquired by the continual application of your mind to all kinds of science, have obliged me to place you at the head of my Astronomical Academy. You have fulfilled our expectations, and by toiling day and night have performed the duties of your office, and you have now happily reached the end of your labours in this indefatigable work, with which we have become acquainted.

"It is proper that at the period of a great festival, in which all my empire is expressing its joy, I should make you feel the benefit of my imperial favour, and the regard I have for your person. For this reason, by special grace, we grant you the title of "Great Man," which must render you everywhere renowned; and we command that this title shall be published in all parts of our empire.

pare with them." Father Verbiest did, indeed, quit Europe before the time of the Cassinis, the Halleys, and the Picards, so that he was not able to give them all the improvements of which they are susceptible. The designs of some of these instruments are engraved in the Mémoires of Father Le Comte, vol. i. p. 124, &c.

"Acquire, then, new strength for our service; and let the title of honour which begins with your person be extended to all your relatives and those of your blood. You have merited this eulogium and this dignity by your exertions and your uncommon application; your merits are so great that they correspond entirely with the honour we do you;—receive, then, this favour with becoming respect. You are the only one on whom I have conferred it; let it be a new motive to employ in our service all your talents and all the powers of your mind."

Such titles as these are the most honourable that can be conferred in China, and those who receive them have them inscribed in various parts of their dwellings, and even on the lanterns that they have carried before them.

The ancestors of Father Verbiest also received patents of nobility; but we do not quote them, as we have already, in the preceding volume, quoted similar documents, which were granted by the Emperor Chun-Tché to the ancestors of Adam Schall, and with some trivial variations the formula of all these is the same.

These marks of favour from the Emperor contributed wonderfully to the success of the missions in all the provinces; and the missionaries, who were regarded as brothers of Nan-Hoai-Jen, now always met with help and protection from the mandarins, even from those who before would gladly have devoted them to torture and death. Christians of long standing were reanimated in their faith and in the practices of their religion; infidels were converted in great numbers, and in all directions new altars were seen rising to the honour of the true God.

Father Verbiest, who had been appointed Vice-Provincial of his order in China, communicated some of his own zeal and incomparable activity to his fellow-believers.

This extraordinary man, who might have been supposed to be entirely occupied with scientific labours, never for a moment lost sight of the interests of the faith. Astronomy and religion,—the direction of the Tribunal of Mathematics, and of the various Christian communities —the instruction to be given to the Emperor and to the neophytes, were by turns the objects of his solicitude. Scarcely had he published his voluminous work on astronomy, than he sent forth several on religious doctrine, written in Chinese with so much precision and elegance, that to this day they are in the hands of all Christians, and often greatly admired by the Chinese *literati*. There is one among these which merits particular mention, as the Emperor Khieng-Long desired that it should be included in a collection of Chinese books made for his library. It is entitled *Khiao-yao-sui-Lun*, that is to say, "Summary of the Fundamental Truths of Religion."

The esteem and confidence manifested by the Emperor Khang-Hi for the missionaries, instead of diminishing, continually increased, and there was soon joined with this esteem something like what we may call a sentiment of gratitude; for it was probably to the service and self-devotion of Father Verbiest that the Tartars chiefly owed the successful repression of a formidable insurrection, which threatened the ruin of their recently established power. This revolt of the Chinese against the Mantchoo-Tartar dynasty was raised by the general Ou-Sang-Koui, who had introduced the Tartars to the empire, and doubtless contributed much to establish in his native country that foreign domination.

The Chinese, who are accustomed to believe that great political events are always announced by extraordinary phenomena of nature, considered that this new insurrec-

tion of Ou-Sang-Koui was predicted by a terrible earthquake that took place in 1672. "In the seventh moon of that same year," say the Annals of China, "towards ten o'clock in the morning, an earthquake so violent and extensive occurred at Pekin that more than three hundred thousand persons were buried under the ruins of houses. The town of Tong-Tcheou, at four leagues from the capital, experienced a similar disaster, and more than thirty thousand people were crushed by the fall of buildings. The terror continued for three months, during which shocks were felt at intervals, though less violent than the first.*

These fearful physical convulsions were soon followed by others in the political world scarcely less terrible, which agitated the empire for many years, and menaced the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty.

We have related, in a preceding volume, the heroic resistance of Ou-Sang-Koui,—his devotion and fidelity to the Tartar princes of the dynasty of Ming,—his imprudent alliance with the Mantchoo-Tartars for the sake of suppressing an insurrection,—the final annihilation of the insurrectionary army,—the tragical end of the Emperor Tchoung-Tching, who hung himself on a tree in his park,—the victories of the Tartars, their triumph at Pekin, and their ultimate establishment on the throne of the empire. Ou-Sang-Koui who, without intending it, had been mainly instrumental in bringing on the great revolution, was compelled to submit to the new order of things, after having long resisted the valiant conquerors of China.

The Tartar government, determined to crush all

* De Mailla, "Histoire Générale de la Chine."

resistance, but, at the same time, desirous of rallying the most important men of the nation round the new dynasty—showed much indulgence towards Ou-Sang-Koui —and, as the price of his submission, proclaimed him king of the province Yun-Nan.

Ou-Sang-Koui lived at first in a very resigned and quiet manner, in his wealthy and brilliant retirement; far from the new Court, a stranger to political affairs, and troubling himself very little about anything, — not even the administration of his province,— his royalty being, in fact, nothing more than an empty title, for the real authority belonged to the mandarins sent by the government from Pekin, and exercising authority in the Yun-Nan in the name of the Tartar Emperor.

Precarious as his position was, however, and destitute of all political authority, Ou-Sang-Koui did not fail to acquire, by degrees, considerable importance. Though without power he was not the less the illustrious warrior, the last champion of the fallen dynasty, the representative of the ancient *régime*. His name alone was like a banner of Chinese nationality, planted at the other extremity of the empire, in opposition to the Tartar standard that floated from the imperial palace of Pekin. Around King Ou-Sang-Koui, became grouped, first the sincere and devoted partisans of the dynasty of Ming, then men of disappointed ambition, and malcontents of all classes, those inveterate and incorrigible busy-bodies and everlasting grumblers, who, under pretence of fidelity to one cause, are really desirous only of change, hoping thereby to become of some importance, and having never yet been of any. The name of Ou-Sang-Koui, however, was an immense power — for it was a perpetual memorial of the in-

dependence of China — a perpetual protest against its subjection by a foreign power. The Tartar government did allow itself to be hoodwinked concerning the dangers with which it might be threatened from the province of Yun-Nan; but its uneasiness was counterbalanced by stronger reasons for confidence and security. The whole empire had made submission, all the provinces, without exception, obeyed the new power, the dynasty of Ming was extinct without leaving a single descendant, and the Chinese were again becoming peaceably settled down to the occupations of agriculture, industry, and commerce, not appearing sufficiently warlike in their dispositions to be likely to renew the agitations of civil strife. The court of Pekin possessed also a hostage for the fidelity of Ou-Sang-Koui in the person of his only son, whom he had been compelled to send thither.

These motives for security had, however, ceased to be sufficient, since the province of Yun-Nan had become the rendezvous of all who either openly or covertly opposed the Tartar domination; and the government becoming alarmed, the Emperor Khang-Hi resolved to attack this point of counter-revolution, which could not fail some day to disturb the serenity of his reign.

A courteous invitation was therefore sent to the King of Yun-Nan, to come to Pekin, in order that he might enjoy more advantage from the favour of the young monarch; and the invitation was, of course, a command, as Ou-Sang-Koui well understood. Convinced that it was only a snare laid for his liberty, perhaps for his life, he apologised for not making the journey, under the pretext that his advanced age would not permit him to support so much fatigue; but as this answer was sure to be regarded at Pekin as an act of rebellion, he hastened to

summon his friends around him, to raise troops, and to put all things in his province in a state of preparation. It is even stated, that in order to increase the number of his partisans amongst the Chinese, he spread a report that he had brought up a son of the last Emperor of the Ming dynasty, secretly in his palace.

However that may be, Ou-Sang-Koui, when he considered himself sufficiently strong, openly raised the standard of revolt, and dispersed through all the provinces of the empire the following insurrectionary manifesto: —

"When I summoned the Mantchoo Tartars to the assistance of my master, the Emperor, against the rebels who were attacking, and desiring to overthrow his throne, I gave occasion, without intending it, for these barbarians to seize upon the throne itself. I now see with grief the degradation of the Hundred Families*, and the progress of the evil, which has spread like a dreadful ulcer over the whole nation. My conscience reproaches me continually for the misfortunes that I have caused to my country, by subjecting it to this tyrannical yoke; and I fear that the heavens may be angry with me, and may punish me severely, if I make no efforts to repair the mischief. For a long time past I have been meditating on the means, and making the preparations, for this great and holy enterprise. Let all Chinese who are devoted to their country, and are the enemies of the Tartars, rally round my standard, and our triumph is secure. I have four hundred thousand men, full of enthusiasm, at my disposal, without counting the auxiliary troops promised me from various king-

* The Chinese people.

doms; and I have provisions and money in abundance for the subsistence and pay of this army of deliverance. I therefore solemnly appeal to the provinces of the east and the west, the north and the south, to drive from the empire the barbarians who are oppressing it."

This manifesto was the signal of war. The Tartars saw the beginning without much disturbance, thinking their power too securely established to be shaken; but the sequel showed them that it is not so easy as they supposed to stifle wholly the ideas of national independence, and to bend a people beneath the yoke of the foreigner. The cry of insurrection raised by Ou-Sang-Koui in the mountains of Yun-Nan was soon resounding from one end of China to the other, and the whole empire was in a flame. The viceroys of Fo-kien and Canton were the first to enter into the insurrectionary movement, and their provinces declared themselves, *en masse*, for Ou-Sang-Koui. The contagion passed rapidly to the neighbouring provinces; and the revolt advancing, like an ocean lashed up by a storm, rolled onwards towards Pekin, threatening to swallow up the Tartars with the capital of the empire. It was at one time thought that the Emperor had been fairly brought to bay, and had nothing left but to make his escape into the deserts of Mantchuria, whence his ancestors had issued. Father Verbiest says, in one of his letters, that he himself was preparing for the journey, feeling no doubt that Khang-Hi would desire him to go also.*

Ou-Sang-Koui had already, in Pekin itself, more than fifty thousand men in his pay, and devoted to the cause of the insurrection. In four days more they were to set

* D'Orléans, "Histoire des Deux Conquérants."

fire to the palace, and lay hands on all that could be found in it; when, by the impatience of one of the conspirators, the plot was discovered. He had ordered some weapons of an armourer, and was urging him so much to haste in his work, that the man's suspicions were aroused, and he gave warning to the magistrates. The imminence of the danger was, perhaps, what saved the Tartars. The conspirators, who had not time to make their escape, were immediately beheaded; but for the chief of the conspiracy, the son of Ou-Sang-Koui, the Emperor assigned what was regarded as a more honourable death, namely, that of being strangled with a white silk cord. These rapid and sanguinary executions struck terror into the whole capital, and took away all further inclination to revolt among the Chinese; and the Emperor Khang-Hi showed, in these moments of peril, the skill and energy of a wise pilot, who knows how to weather the storm. After having terrified his enemies by the prompt severity of his proceedings towards the conspirators, he showed so much coolness and courage, that the Tartars recovered their habitual vigour and intrepidity; and, not to lose the precious moments of the first enthusiasm, the Emperor marched them at once against the insurrectionary army, which had advanced, from victory to victory, as far as the province of Kiang-Si, and was now encamped in the environs of Kien-Tchang.

This army was composed of a hundred and fifty thousand men; the imperial troops were inferior in number, but full of ardour, and strengthened by that Tartar cavalry which usually routed the infantry of China without any difficulty.

The victory, when the armies met, was not for a

moment even doubtful, and the Tartars made such a carnage of the insurgents, that not only the field of battle, but the country far around, was covered with dead bodies. "The number was so great," say the annals of the period, "no one having been willing to take on himself the trouble of giving them burial, that the very air was infected, so that the war was followed by a pestilence that laid waste the whole land. A river, which was near the spot where the battle took place, was found so full of corpses, that the waters were for a long time corrupted." *

This terrible defeat the chiefs of the insurrection could scarcely hope to recover from in any other way than by concentrating their forces, instead of fighting separately; but mutual jealousy, which so often renders ineffectual the best concerted leagues of this nature, also brought disorder into the camp of the insurgents.

The viceroy of Fo-kien gradually withdrew from the coalition, and submitted to the Tartars; the viceroy of Canton wished to combat on his own account, and separated himself from Ou-Sang-Koui, who was by far the most formidable, as he was master of all the provinces of the west, and his first success had given his troops a confidence that made them ready for any enterprise.

The Emperor marched his whole force against him, but to no purpose; and he soon found that it would be impossible for him to force Ou-Sang-Koui from his entrenchments without the aid of cannon. Father Verbiest had been charged to put the old artillery, cast under the direction of Father Schall, into proper repair; and his intelligent activity soon enabled him to get a

* D'Orléans, p. 181.

hundred and fifty pieces into tolerable order. Many of these iron cannon were, however, too heavy to be used in the mountainous provinces where Ou-Sang-Koui was encamped, and the president and members of the Tribunals of War and the Board of Public Works, presented a memorial to the Emperor, in which they entreated him, for the safety of the state, to order Nan-Hoai-Jen to cast new ones, and to instruct workmen in this art. Father Verbiest endeavoured to excuse himself on the ground of his slight knowledge of warlike machines. "The occupations of a religious life," said he, "have kept me altogether apart from all that relates to secular warfare, and enable me to do no more than put up prayers to the Lord for a blessing on the arms of the Emperor."

This answer was not approved, and the missionary was informed that he ought no more to object to cast cannon than to make mathematical instruments, when the welfare of the country was at stake; and he was warned that a refusal so little founded in reason might give the Emperor cause to think him very little devoted to the public welfare, and might possibly even occasion a suspicion that he had an understanding with the rebels.

Father Verbiest, who knew the bad effect that suspicions sometimes had on the mind of Khang-Hi, feared that if after this he should persist in his refusal, he might injure the cause of the missions. He therefore asked for workmen, and they fabricated, under his superintendence, a piece to carry bombshells of nearly four pounds weight; but the Emperor feared it would not stand the discharge, and sent Father Verbiest with one of the principal mandarins towards the mountains to make trial of it.

After eight trials the mandarin went back to announce its complete success; and on the following day the experiment was repeated in the presence of the principal chiefs of the army; and out of a hundred balls ninety hit the mark.

The Emperor then ordered that twenty pieces of the same calibre should be made as quickly as possible, and in twenty-seven days they were cast and mounted, and then immediately sent against the rebels in the mountains of Chen-Si. Khang-Hi, wishing to honour and reward Father Verbiest, went to pay him a visit in his own residence, carefully examined the house and the chapel, put several questions to him concerning the state of the missions, and left him at parting a Chinese inscription written with his own hand; a compliment of the highest importance in China, and a most splendid proof of imperial favour, almost equal to a solemn decree. The missionaries had exact copies of it made and sent to all the provincial churches.

A short time after this the Supreme Council of War, receiving from all the provinces reiterated demands for cannon for various fortresses, presented a memorial to the Emperor, to inform him that the defence of the empire required 320 cannon of different calibre, and made in the European fashion; and the Emperor replied to the memorial by ordering Father Verbiest to commence the work immediately.

The fabrication of this grand artillery took more than a year, but the greatest difficulties that Verbiest had to contend with, were raised by the eunuchs of the palace. These persons, who are jealous to excess, could not endure to see a foreigner so high in the good graces of their sovereign; and they made all kinds of attempts to

hinder the success of the work. They complained continually of the slowness of the workmen; they manœuvred to get the metal stolen by the lower officers of the court; and when one of the large pieces was nearly finished they contrived to force an iron ball into it, under the idea that they would thus render it useless. But Father Verbiest had it loaded through the touch-hole, and fired it off, and the ball issuing from it with a loud report, convinced the disconcerted eunuchs that their malice was no match for the learning of the missionary.

When all the cannon were finished they were taken for trial to the foot of a mountain, half a day's journey from the capital; and the Emperor with his whole court, the principal officers of the army, and several tributary sovereigns of Western Tartary, who happened to be then at Pekin, came to witness the ceremony. Before commencing the experiment, Father Verbiest wished to perform a solemn benediction of the cannon; and he had an altar prepared, on which, in the presence of all the great dignitaries of the empire, he placed a cross; then, clothed in his surplice and stole, he worshipped the true God, prostrating himself nine times, and striking the earth nine times with his forehead, in the Chinese manner of expressing adoration; and after that he read the prayers of the Church, and sprinkled the cannon with holy water, having bestowed on each of them the name of a male or female saint, which he had himself drawn on the breech, intending to have it afterwards engraved.

After this religious ceremony, which produced a good impression on the assembly, the firing began; and as Father Verbiest had taken care to point the guns ac-

curately with his instruments, most of the balls hit the mark, though it was placed at a considerable distance.

The Emperor was so pleased, that he celebrated the event by giving a banquet on the spot to the Tartar sovereigns and the principal officers of his court,—drinking from a golden cup to the health of the guests and the prosperity of the empire. He then sent for Father Verbiest, and addressed him in these words:—

"The cannon that you made for us last year have been of the greatest service to us against the rebels of the southern provinces. I am very much satisfied with your services, and I ought to do you honour before this assembly, which has witnessed your zeal and your knowledge;" and taking off his mantle of sables, and his tunic embroidered with the golden dragon, he gave them to him in token of friendship.

Some months after this, the tribunal charged with the examinations of the merit of persons who have distinguished themselves by their works, presented a memorial to the Emperor, praying him to have regard to the services that Nan-Hoai-Jen had rendered to the empire, by the construction of so many pieces of artillery; and Khang-Hi accordingly bestowed on Father Verbiest the title of honour that is given to viceroys, who have been remarkable for wisdom in the government of their provinces.

Father Verbiest was bitterly attacked in Europe, for having organised a cannon foundry at Pekin, and libels were published against him in Spain, in Italy, and even in France; but the learned and pious Jesuit replied, that he was not to blame for furnishing arms to the Tartars, since by that means he had obtained for the European missionaries liberty to preach the gospel

throughout the empire of China. The Sovereign Pontiff also declared him entirely free from blame, and addressed to him (in 1685) the following letter:—

"To our very dear son, Ferdinand Verbiest, of the Society of Jesus, Vice-Provincial of China,

"Innocent, Pope, 11th of that name.

"Our dear Son, greeting,

"It is impossible to be more rejoiced than we have been by your letters, by which, with respectful expressions of filial obedience towards us, you send us, from that vast empire of China, where you are residing, the two valuable presents of a Roman missal translated into the Chinese language, and the Astronomical Tables by means of which you have rendered this nation favourable to the Christian religion. But no less agreeable has it been to us to learn, by these same letters, how wisely you have availed yourself of the profane sciences —for the advancement of the faith, and the salvation of this people; making use of them to refute the calumnies and false accusations with which some have endeavoured to traduce the Christian religion, and to acquire the regard and esteem of the Emperor and his chief ministers. By that means you have not only delivered yourself from the grievous persecutions you suffered so long, with so much fortitude and courage; but you have got the missionaries recalled from exile, and restored our holy religion to as much liberty and honour as it formerly enjoyed, as well as placed it in a position to make still greater progress; for there is nothing that one may not hope for from you and those who labour with you, as well as from a prince endowed with so much intelligence and wisdom, and so well disposed to

religion, as he appears to be from the edicts published by your counsel.

"You have then only to go on as you have begun; to promote, by your zeal and knowledge, the cause of religion, and you may rely on the support of the Holy See and of our pontifical authority, since we have nothing so much at heart, in the fulfilment of our duty as universal pastor, as to see the faith of Christ making progress in that illustrious quarter of the world, which, widely as it may be separated from us by space of land and sea, is brought so near by the charity of Jesus Christ, urging us to bestow our anxious care and solicitude on the eternal salvation of so many nations. We desire that your holy labours and those of your companions may be crowned with complete success; and, with the paternal tenderness which we feel for you and all the faithful of China, we give you most affectionately as a pledge of our affection our Apostolic Blessing.

"Given at Rome, 30th December, 1681."

The annals of China relate, that the complete victory gained over the great insurrection, which burst out during the early part of the reign of Khang-Hi, was mainly attributed to the artillery fabricated under the direction of the European, Nan-Hoai-Jen; for that as soon as the imperial armies were able to make use of it, the rebels experienced a continual succession of defeats, and the insurrection was driven back as far as the mountains of Yun-Nan, where it had originated. The chiefs of all the other parties had been put to death and their forces destroyed or dispersed, but On-Sang Koni was still vigorously defending himself, and maintaining all his old renown as a warrior. Fortunately for the

Tartars, however, this great general was far advanced in age, and he died at last, from this cause only, in his camp, surrounded by his troops, refusing to the last to make submission, and protesting to his last breath against the dominion of foreigners. On his death-bed he bequeathed his authority and the command of his troops to one of his lieutenants, who carried on the war for two years longer, among the gorges of the mountains at the western extremity of the empire; but he was ultimately crushed by the Tartars who (in 1681) put an end to a struggle which had lasted seven years.

The Emperor Khang-Hi, victorious over all his enemies within and without, found himself now in peaceable possession of the most vast and populous empire in the world; and he resolved to take this opportunity of making a journey to Mantchuria, to visit the tombs of his ancestors, which he did accordingly in 1682, with a *cortége* of seventy thousand persons. "The Emperor has been pleased," says Father Verbiest, "to order me to accompany him, and that I should be always near his person, in order that I might make in his presence the necessary observations of the heavens, for finding the elevation of the pole, and the latitude of every country; and for measuring the height of mountains, and the distances of various places, with my mathematical instruments."

In the following year another journey was made to Mongolia, and the Emperor had in his suite sixty thousand men, and more than a hundred thousand horses. "He set off," says Father Verbiest, "on the sixth of July, and desired that I should follow him and bring with me one of the Fathers who are with me at the court, but leaving the choice to me; and I took Father

Grimaldi on account of his well-known skill in mathematical science."

Various reasons appear to have induced the Emperor to repeat these journeys. First, for the sake of keeping the army, in peace as well as in war, in a state of constant activity: with this view, after having established a solid peace in all parts of the empire, he summoned all the best troops from each of his vast provinces, and made with them every year some expedition of this nature, that "while pursuing wild boars, bears, and tigers, they might learn to conquer the enemies of the empire." "He wishes," continues Father Verbiest, "to prevent their valour and discipline from declining under a long peace, and these great hunts have more the appearance of a serious military expedition than of a kind of recreation.

"The sixty thousand men who formed the Emperor's suite were all armed with sabres as well as bows and arrows; they were divided into companies, and marched in order of battle after their ensigns, and to the sound of drums and trumpets.

"During the hunt they invested forests and mountains, as if they were about to lay siege to them; and the army had an advance and rear guard, its right and left wing and main body, commanded by as many different generals."

"For more than seventy days, during which this immense body was on the march, provisions and munitions of war were carried on camels, mules, and chariots across the most difficult tracts of country, where neither castles, nor towns, nor villages, nor even any human habitations are to be seen; where the inhabitants, who are herdsmen, live in tents placed on the surface of the

ground, carrying them from one valley to another, or wherever the best pastures for their oxen, horses, and camels are to be found.

"They do not keep any of those animals which require care in feeding, but merely such as an uncultivated soil can support by grass and herbs springing up spontaneously. The Mongol Tartars pass their lives either in hunting or in doing nothing at all; for as they neither sow corn, nor till the ground, they have no harvest to get in; their flocks and herds supply them with milk, meat, and cheese, for food; skins for their clothing, and wine for their drink. This wine is made from fermented milk, and is the delight of the Tartars, who often get intoxicated with it; in fact, they think from morning till night only of eating and drinking, like the herds by which they are fed."

It was among these nomadic tribes that the Emperor Khang-Hi liked best to make these great military excursions; and he was often seen at the head of his troops traversing vast solitudes, climbing steep mountains, crossing rivers and torrents, exposed all day to the heat of the sun, the rain, and all the vicissitudes of weather.

Those who had been engaged in the late war declared that they had not then suffered so many hardships as during these hunts; and thus the principal object of the Emperor was attained; for he desired to habituate them to fatigue and hardship.

A second purpose of these undertakings was to strike the imaginations of the Mongol Tartars by such a display of force as might prevent their cherishing designs against the state. With this view the army was even provided with pieces of artillery, which were,

from time to time, discharged, that their noise and flame might awaken salutary terror in the country.

Besides the display of military force, the Emperor was accompanied by all the signs of grandeur that surrounded him at Pekin; a multitude of drums and trumpets, cymbals and other musical instruments, which formed the habitual entertainment of the monarch while he was at table, and to the sound of which he entered or issued from his palace, as it was supposed that all this external pomp served to impress the barbarians with the respect and fear due to the Imperial Majesty.

Father Verbiest had often much to suffer during these long and perilous hunts. "I cannot describe," he says, "the fatigue and trouble of these long journeys, by roads rendered almost impassable by floods; in which we had to climb mountains, and cross swollen torrents, where the bridges were either completely covered or carried away. In some places, too, there were great accumulations of water or mud, from which it was almost impossible to drag yourself; sometimes the horses, camels, and other beasts of burden, carrying the baggage, could not extricate themselves, but remained swallowed in the mire, or died from exhaustion. The men were almost worn out, and weakened by the deficiency of provisions and refreshments needed for so great a journey, and numbers of horsemen were obliged to dismount from their sinking animals, and make the journey on foot, or stop behind alone to recover themselves.

"Whenever they came to a bridge or a defile the whole army stopped, and as soon as the Emperor and his chief officers had passed, the remainder of the body

rushed on, each endeavouring to pass first, by which many were thrown into the water. Others, taking still more dangerous routes, fell into quagmires and morasses, from which they never escaped alive; and many old officers, who had been following the court for thirty years, said they had never suffered so much on any journey before."

Father Verbiest was supported in the midst of the incessant exertions of so laborious a life, by the most ardent zeal for the conversion of the heathen; and he gladly undertook these fatiguing journeys, in hopes of being enabled, by these means, to keep up the good disposition of the Emperor towards the missionaries and Christians. The hopes that he entertained on this subject went on increasing, as he saw what a vast field was open to the preaching of the gospel in Tartary, Corea, and even several of the provinces of China, into which its glad tidings had never yet been carried.

Evangelical labourers were everywhere required, and as the missionaries already established in China seemed insufficient to gather in so abundant a harvest, he turned his eyes towards Europe, and wrote letters, full of ardent entreaties, to his religious brethren, to induce them to come and share his labours. He conjured them not to allow to pass unheeded so favourable an opportunity, in which the Chinese were so well prepared to receive the truth.

"Unfortunately," he writes to the Jesuits of Europe, "in proportion as the favour of princes and great lords increases we see the number of our Fathers diminishing. How easy would it be now to procure the liberty of the children of God for thousands of Chinese,— bought, as well as Europeans, by the precious blood of our Lord!

There are, in that empire, still five whole provinces, each one as large as some kingdoms of Europe, in which, for want of labourers, the gospel has never been preached. I know that there are, in most of our colleges, many devoted men, endowed with all the talents required for the mission, and I conjure them, in the name of God, to turn their eyes on the regions that are stretching out their arms towards them."

Father Verbiest then goes on to enumerate the qualifications which those who devote themselves to the work ought to possess.

"They must have learning — much learning," he says, "but still that is nothing in comparison with the virtues, without which learning mostly does harm. Who are they then whom we invite to come with us to make the conquest of China? They are the noble soldiers of Jesus Christ, the children of St. Ignatius, and the brethren of so many martyrs, men who would often rather see themselves in the prisons of Japan, or, like their predecessors, bound to stakes in the midst of flames, than overwhelmed by the favour and liberalities of the Emperor. These are the men who would often prefer the cross and the furnace to the pleasures of the court, who are less attracted by the smiles and caresses of the great, than by the fierce scowl of the tyrants of Japan, or the terrible array of instruments of torture, with which they endeavour to frighten us. We are now opposite to Japan, and we often turn our eyes in the direction of those unhappy islands, and think we see the sky obscured by smoke from the flames in which martyrs are expiring, and then we strike our breasts and say, 'Grant to us, too, Oh Lord, sinners as we are, a place amongst the holy martyrs!'" and then, in order to induce the brethren the more to come to China, the

father tries to convince them that in all probability their lives will be sacrificed; "and after that," he exclaims, "what can I say more to inspire the wish to join our missions?"

This simple sublime language is truly worthy of an apostle writing to his brethren.

The hope of being one day called on to die for Jesus Christ, was the best support Father Verbiest had in the midst of the fatigues and tribulations of his ministry; and this thought is often expressed in the pious writings in which he liked to give utterance to his most heartfelt sentiments.

"Place me, Oh Lord," he says, in one of these, "amongst the number of those who have wished and have been permitted to shed their blood for you! I have, indeed, neither their innocence, their virtue, nor their courage; but you may apply to me their merits, and, what is infinitely better, clothe me with yours.

"It is but beneath the veil of your infinite mercy that I dare to offer you my life as a sacrifice. I have had the happiness, Oh my God, to confess thy holy name amongst the people, at the court, in the tribunals, under chains and in dungeons; but what will this confession serve me, if I do not sign it with my blood?"

When he was really confined in a narrow dungeon, he wrote to his provincial: — "How much more agreeable has been to me the noise of the nine chains with which I have been dragged to the tribunals, than the ovations with which, in thirty towns, my passage was honoured when I was sent for to the court! I write to you because I know that the courage of our brethren is inflamed by the sight of prisons and tortures, and that the provinces where these torments are to be hoped for, are those which are most sought after by our mission-

aries. Oh! why has it not been permitted to me to appear before you with a whole palm-branch dyed in the blood of martyrdom, instead of having to show only a few leaves soon to be withered! Why has it not been permitted me to appear before you with a cross from Japan or a sword through my heart! May God preserve me from being a barren tree!" &c.

This language, so full of apostolic ardour, inflamed the zeal of Europe for the propagation of the faith in idolatrous countries. It was one of these letters that induced Ferdinand, Bishop of Munster and Paderborn, to endow richly a house to educate missionaries for China. This noble and holy bishop writes in 1682 to Father Verbiest.

"Your letters to Europe from the remotest confines of Asia have happily reached us, and the reading of them has so kindled our hearts, that we seemed to see and hear the apostle of the Indies. It is impossible that we should not be filled with the desire of aiding your work, when we hear you describing so pathetically the loss of so many souls, bought by the blood of Jesus Christ. As for us, in order that we may in some measure participate in your crown, we offer to God, to the Divine Redeemer, to the Virgin Mother, Conceived without sin, to St. Francis Xavier, and to you, venerable Father Ferdinand, a sum of 25,000 crowns, the interest of which will suffice to support eight missionaries in China."

It was another of these admirable letters of Father Verbiest that induced Louis XIV. to found that French mission in Pekin, whose illustrious members were renowned for so many scientific and literary works, as well as for their apostolic labours.

CHAP. III.

PORTUGUESE PATRONAGE IN ASIA. — FATHER ALEXANDER OF RHODES. — THE FOREIGN MISSION SEMINARY. — THE FIRST VICAR APOSTOLIC OF CHINA, MONSEIGNEUR VALLU. — PROJECT OF THE GREAT COLBERT FOR A FRENCH MISSION IN CHINA. — IT IS REALISED BY THE EXERTIONS OF M. DE LOUVOIS. — DEPARTURE OF TEN FRENCH MISSIONARIES. — STAY AT BATAVIA AND SIAM. — NAVIGATION ON BOARD A CHINESE JUNK. — ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES AT NING-PO. — VEXATIOUS BEHAVIOUR OF THE MANDARINS. — BRILLIANT RECEPTION AT HAU-TCHEOU-FOU. — DEPARTURE FOR PEKIN. — THE FRENCH JESUITS FIND THE PEKIN MISSION IN MOURNING. — DEATH OF THE CELEBRATED FATHER VERBIEST. — HIS FUNERAL. — EULOGIUM ON THIS GREAT MISSIONARY. — GREGORY LOPEZ. — HE IS NAMED BISHOP OF BASILEA. — HIS OPINION ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CHINESE CEREMONIES. — HE DIES AT NANKIN.

The Emperor Khang-Hi, after having put down the insurrections, and triumphed over his enemies, directed all the resources of his genius to the promotion of agriculture, commerce, science, and literature throughout his vast dominions. He saw that through the benefits of peace alone, and by great public prosperity, would he be able to make the Chinese forget the humiliations and disasters of the conquest, and this reign, inaugurated by brilliant military successes, gradually became one of the most glorious of the old Chinese monarchy.

At this same period, though at the other extremity of the globe we see Louis XIV. rising like a sun, and beginning to throw the rays of his glory around him, as the Emperor Khang-Hi was also in the Celestial Empire.

The moment had arrived when these two great monarchs, one of whom was to render the greatest throne of Europe illustrious, and the other, the still greater empire of China, should be brought to know one another through the intermediation of the preachers of the Gospel. The French missionaries were not slow to reveal to China the grandeur of the Tuileries, and the magnificence of Versailles; at the same time that they described to astonished France, the marvels of the Yellow-City, and the magic fêtes of the *Ge-Hol.*

China had already been evangelised by several French missionaries before the official establishment of the French mission at Pekin. The nation more strongly endued than any other with the spirit of Propagandism, had not failed to send her contingent of apostles to the extreme East. Father Alexander of Rhodes, a native of Avignon, had been one of the most celebrated among these chosen men. After having been long engaged in evangelising Tonquin and Cochin-China, he had been deputed by his brethren to announce at Rome the hindrances that the court of Lisbon was throwing in the way of the propagation of the faith, by the abuse of its *right of patronage.* "Portugal," says Father Bertram, in his History of the Mission (vol. i. p. 191), "was the first, and for a long time the only, European power that exercised authority in the East Indies. She rendered eminent services to religion there; she powerfully favoured its diffusion, by employing, in turns, the pomp of her embassies, to introduce it into the bosom of idolatry; the authority of her name to protect it, and the force of her arms to defend it; soon, with an admirable liberality, she furnished pecuniary resources for the support of the missionaries, and a certain number

of bishops. But, as in all ages, one unavoidably sees that sad truth verified, that the Church must pay with her tears for the succour and protection she has received from secular power; so these favours from the court of Portugal were counter-balanced by the conditions she imposed, and by the evil consequences resulting from them.

Among the first might be cited the political views which, often very imperfectly disguised, accompanied this protection. From them there arose in the popular mind a persuasion that the Christian religion was a means of subjecting nations to the Portuguese yoke, a persuasion that the conduct of Europeans has only too often justified. It will be seen that such an opinion offered an immense obstacle to the propagation of the faith; and that it is that which has occasioned the most terrible persecutions, and caused the ruin of so many Christian communities.

Still more serious, however, were the conditions imposed on the Church by the kings of Portugal, involved in what were called the *Rights of Patronage*, and constituting a sort of monopoly for this nation of all the missions in the Indies. According to this patronage no bishop could be appointed to an existing See, no new See could be created, without the consent and participation of the king, to whom the right also belonged of presenting the candidates. No missionary, in fact, could go to the Indies without his permission, or in any but Portuguese ships. Finally, it was even said, that no letter or bull of the Holy See could have the force of law in the Indies, without having passed through the hands and received the approbation of the King of Portugal. All Indo-Chinese missions were in consequence Por-

tuguese; and though it is true that the subjects of other nations were admitted, yet they lost their nationality, as it were, in doing so, and it will be easily seen how this circumstance tended to diminish the attraction of the missions for other countries.

As to the temporal assistance, so indispensable to the development of the apostolic work, it was necessary to receive it from the Portuguese government alone.

At first these conditions, however dangerous for the independence of the missions, were compensated by the precious advantages which Portugal could alone afford, and without which the propagation of the faith would have been at that time impossible. They presented also, considered in themselves, a principle of justice and guarantee very necessary, since the King of Portugal, being the only European power established in the Indies, was naturally jealous of his authority, and eager to prevent any other nations from exercising any influence around him, by establishing missions of their own.

These reasons induced the Holy See to consent to the conditions of the Portuguese court, and confirm the *Right of Patronage* by solemn bulls. What is most remarkable is that, according to report, the king demanded the insertion of a clause by the Pontiff, annulling, by anticipation, all bulls of a contrary tendency that might be hereafter issued by his successors.*

* However it may be with this clause, it can in no way destroy the principles of canon law or natural reason, according to which a Pope may not rob his successors of their right, nor deprive them of the power of taking such measures and making such arrangements as they may think fit for the government of the church confided to them. Portugal claims her right of patronage to the present day,

The influence of the Portuguese power appeared for a long time to be productive of the happiest results; the missionaries arrived in great numbers, and the assistance of the government was abundantly afforded. Gradually, however, as the missions increased in number, and their wants became enormously augmented, Portugal found it impossible to furnish the required number of workers, while those who joined them from other nations were far from sufficient for the demand.

The absence of pecuniary resources, also, which did not increase in proportion to the requirements, was found an insurmountable obstacle to the development of the mission. What resources there were, too, were attended with a serious inconvenience, being generally furnished in kind, and necessitating the establishment of an agency for the conversion of the goods into money in order to send to each missionary the assistance he required. Such a one was the agency of Macao for Chinese and Japanese missions. The result of this was that the world, always malevolently disposed,

but it may be sufficient to quote the observations of Father Bertrand on the subject of this pretension: — 1. "The determining motive for the concession of such a privilege was afforded by the political power that Portugal exercised in India, and the consequent facilities it possessed of promoting the spiritual and temporal good of the infant church. 2. The express condition of the privilege was, that the king should furnish all the necessary succours to the bishops and missionaries in these vast countries, and, especially, that he should provide, without delay, for the election of the new candidates to the sees as they became vacant. Now, here also, the determining motive exists no longer, since the Portuguese power in India is destroyed and this express condition has not been observed; so that even if we admit that the concession to the Portuguese was a veritable contract, this contract would be annulled by the nature of things and the conduct of the Portuguese court."

witnessing the operations of this agency, imagined, perhaps sincerely, and loudly asserted, that the Jesuits were driving a great trade at the missions, and possessed incalculable riches and treasure; and while these reports were making a scandal in Europe, the poor missionaries were in reality often reduced to the last extremities, and the work paralysed through the want of money.

Another and not less injurious consequence of the Portuguese patronage was, the dependence in which the missionaries saw themselves placed on the court of Lisbon, their missions being all organised by bishops themselves under the nomination and hand of the king.

Deeply feeling the inconveniences we have just described, the superiors, for whom Father de Rhodes was sent as envoy to the Papal Court, hoped to withdraw the Eastern missions from the patronage of Portugal, and to create in these countries bishoprics independent of the Portuguese crown, guaranteeing their titles and revenues without reference to that kingdom; and finally they wished to found a seminary that should furnish worthy candidates for those sees. When Father de Rhodes wished to obtain free bishops for China, he saw that the Society of Jesus, placed, through the missions in Upper Asia, in the hands of the King of Portugal, would endeavour to work their ruin, and would incur the hatred of the king if they were to occupy sees independent of his crown. It was prudent, therefore, to choose prelates out of the Society of Jesus.

Father de Rhodes, who was charged with the negotiation of this delicate affair, made the acquaintance, in Paris, of a rising society of zealous ecclesiastics, united for the purpose of mutually encouraging one another

in charitable works. Father de Rhodes found in this community the men whom he sought, and he did not hesitate to propose many of its members to the propaganda, as fit to be raised to episcopacy. This project, as soon as it became known, did not fail to be frustrated at Rome by the Portuguese ambassador, under the pretext that the French missions infringed upon the right of patronage of his sovereign. At this juncture occurred the death of Innocent X. During the vacancy of the Holy See, Father de Rhodes, seeing that the opposition of Portugal would defer the realisation of the plan that he had been charged to submit to the propaganda, started for Persia, to direct a new mission there, and terminated his apostolic career in that country in the year 1660.

The project formed by Father de Rhodes was resumed after his death, and executed, not, however, by a missionary, but by a woman. If a poetical thought could find any place here, we might say that what a poet once said of a famous queen who founded a kingdom in a foreign land might be applied (according to the Abbé Sicard) to the generous Duchesse d'Aiguillon.

It was desirable to place the kingdom of Jesus Christ in the East on a solid basis; and a woman of determined courage, and of heroic constancy, conducted this great enterprise alone. The Duchesse d'Aiguillon addressed herself to the pope's nuncio in France, to Alexander VII. the successor of Innocent X., and to the cardinals; and her solicitations were so pressing, that she procured the nomination of three French bishops for the missions in Upper Asia. François Pallu, Canon of Tours, was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of Tonquin, under the title of Bishop of Heliopolis, with the admi-

nistration of the provinces of Yun-Nau, Koui-Tcheou, Hou-Kouang, Sse-Tchouan, and Kouang-Si, in China. Pierre de la Mothe-Lambert, who, before he had embraced an ecclesiastical profession, had been counsellor at the Cour des Aides at Rouen, became, under the title of Bishop of Bérythe, Vicar-Apostolic of Cochin-China, with the administration of the provinces of Tché-Kiang, Fo-Kieu, Kouang-Tong, Kiang-Si, and of Haï-Nan, and other neighbouring islands. A third prelate, chosen by the two first, Ignatius Cotolendi, Curé d'Aix in Provence, was charged with the Vicarage Apostolic of Nankin, under the title of Bishop of Metellopolis, with the administration of the provinces of Pekin, Chan-Si, and Chan-Tong, of Tartary and the Corea.

These three prelates had to surmount many difficulties, and to endure many delays, before reaching their posts, as the Portuguese, who had at first granted them passports, on the recommendation of Louis XIV., afterwards withdrew them. Neither the Dutch nor the English would convey French missionaries in their ships on any account, fearing that through their intermediation regular relations would be entered into between France and Upper Asia. It was in consequence of these difficulties that Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, first struck out the idea of a commercial company on the plan of those of England and Holland, for organising certain communications between France, India, and China, independently of other countries. Although the plan of the Bishop of Heliopolis was accepted, the prelates, nevertheless, did not wait till this company, authorised in 1660, could furnish them with vessels, but resolved to take the way of the Medi-

terranean and the Levant, though separately, in order that, in case of accident, the loss of one might not entail that of the others. It is curious to observe that this French company, which afterwards became so celebrated in China and India, and which gave so vigorous an impulse to commerce and the navy of France, was first undertaken under the inspiration, and by the advice, of a missionary. Before undertaking this long voyage, the zealous and prudent apostles of Upper Asia wished to establish a seminary in Paris, the director of which should attend to the affairs of the missionaries during their absence, send them what assistance they might require, test the fitness of ecclesiastics who might wish to join them, and be, in a word, the correspondent of the vicars-apostolic, and the general director of the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the missions. An establishment of this nature had already been projected at Paris by Jean Duval, Bishop of Babylon, who purchased a considerable piece of ground for the purpose in the Rue du Bac. This prelate thought he could do no better than communicate with the rising society of Foreign Missions, to whom he made over his property in the Rue du Bac, on the condition that they should found a seminary for the purpose of furnishing members for the French missions in the East. Vincent de Meurs, Armand Poitevin, and Michel Gazil, all of them priests, united to begin the institution, which was authorised by letters patent in 1663. Cardinal Chigi, then legate in France, the Archbishop of Paris, and the Abbé de Saint Germain des Près, gave their approbation to the spiritual part of the society, though the first stone of the church of Foreign Missions was only laid by François de Harley, Archbishop of Paris, in the

year 1683, long after the departure of the first vicars-apostolic for the East.

La Mothe-Lambert, Bishop of Bérythe, was already on his way when he heard of the order issued by the King of Portugal to seize the French prelates and convey them to Lisbon. Notwithstanding the danger, however, he safely arrived in the capital of the kingdom of Siam. Cotolendi, Bishop of Metellopolis, did not go beyond Masulipatam in Hindostan, where an illness carried him off at thirty-two years of age. Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, who had started last, joined La Mothe-Lambert at Siam.

The position of Siam, and the security with which the Christian religion could be practised there, determined La Mothe-Lambert and Pallu to make it the centre of the French missions in the East, and to establish a seminary there for the native clergy, the speedy formation of which would give to the Christian communities, that might be successively established, a firm position for the future, by resting them upon bases indigenous to the soil. This feature of nationality is, in fact, necessary for any clergy destined to become one day the head of a church.

The desire of informing the sovereign pontiff of the hostile disposition of the Portuguese with regard to the French bishops, and of procuring an indispensable reinforcement of evangelical workers, brought Pallu to Rome. Thence he betook himself to Paris, where he showed the course to be followed for the completion of the Indian company, and where he explained to Louis XIV. the plan of the French missions, which it was proposed to extend throughout that portion of Asia. The presence of French bishops and missionaries, in countries where the name of France had scarcely been heard

before, was too important in the eyes of this prince, who was a politician as well as a Christian, for him to neglect the proposal, and Pallu embarked again, in 1670, on board a ship belonging to the Indian company, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

On his arrival at Siam, the Bishop of Heliopolis formally remitted to the king a letter from Louis XIV., countersigned by Colbert. It was as follows: —

"VERY HIGH, VERY EXCELLENT, AND VERY POWERFUL PRINCE, OUR VERY DEAR AND GOOD FRIEND, — Having been apprised of the favourable reception which you have accorded to those of our subjects, who, animated by an ardent zeal for our holy religion, have resolved to carry the light of the Faith and of the Gospel into your dominions, we have been pleased to profit by the return of the Bishop of Heliopolis to make our acknowledgments to you, and at the same time to express to you our sense of obligation for the gift which you have made to him and to the Lord Bishop of Bérythe, not only of a field for their habitation, but of materials for the construction of their church and house; and as they may have frequent occasion to resort to your justice in the execution of a design so pious and salutary, we have thought that it might be agreeable for us to ask of you, for them and for all our subjects, all kinds of good treatment, assuring you that the favours you may accord to them will be very dear to us, and that we shall embrace with joy any opportunity of showing you our gratitude for them. We pray God, very high, very excellent, and very powerful prince, our very dear and good friend, that He may crown your grandeur with a happy end."

The King of Siam, more and more favourable to

the French missionaries, fixed a certain day when he proposed to show himself to his people in all the pomp of his sovereign majesty, in order to visit the ground set apart for the seminary. Finding it too small, he added another large piece to it, and built a beautiful church upon it at his own expense. He then declared, in the presence of all his court, that he authorised the French missionaries to preach Christianity, and his subjects to embrace it.

After having regulated the affairs of the mission of Siam, the indefatigable Bishop of Heliopolis undertook a journey to his vicariate in China, but being surprised at sea by a violent tempest, he was compelled to sail to Manilla, in order to avoid shipwreck. War was then on the point of being declared between Spain and France, so that the bishop, who was taken for a spy, was retained a prisoner, and eventually sent to Spain. The jealousy which the establishment of French missions in Upper Asia had excited among the European Powers, in consequence of the political and commercial advantages which France could not fail to gain through them, was at bottom the motive for this conduct; but, thanks to the intervention of Innocent XI. and Louis XIV., the captive prelate was restored to liberty.

Independently of justice, Spain, in this, acted in accordance with good policy. "She understood, without doubt," says the sagacious Bishop of Hezebon*, "that she had more to fear in India from Portugal than from France, and that she would better serve her interest by gaining the affections of the French missionaries, than by abandoning herself to a narrow-minded distrust unworthy of a great nation."

* Lettres de Monseigneur Luquet, &c., p. 81.

The Sovereign Council of India, seizing this opportunity to protest publicly against the dangerous pretensions of Portugal, took care to declare, in its proclamations, that neither Spain nor Portugal had any right of patronage to exercise where these Powers possessed no temporal authority.

From Madrid Pallu proceeded to Rome, and then to France, where the prelate missionary produced an impression of which the deep traces may be found in the beautiful sermon of Fénélon on the Epiphany. "We have seen him," cries the eloquent Bishop of Cambrai, "we have seen this simple and magnanimous man who has come quietly back after having travelled round the whole world! We have seen this old age so premature and so touching, this venerable body, bent, not under the weight of years, but under that of penances and labours, and it seems to say to us all, in the midst of whom he has passed his life, to us all who could never tire of looking at him, hearing him, blessing him, of breathing the odour of Jesus Christ in him, it seems to say to us, 'Now, behold me, I know that you will see my face no more.' We have seen him who has just measured the entire earth, but his heart, greater than the world, was still in those distant countries. The Spirit called him to China, and the Gospel which he felt it was for *him* to give to this vast empire was like a devouring fire in his soul, that he could no longer contain. Go, then! holy old man. Once more traverse the astonished and subject Ocean. Go, in the name of God! You shall see the promised land, to you it shall be given to enter in there, since you have hoped against hope itself. The tempest that was to cause your shipwreck shall cast you upon the desired shore. For eight months

your dying voice shall sound the name of Jesus Christ along the shores of China. O premature death! O precious life that should last how much longer! O sweet hopes sadly disappointed! But let us adore God, let us be silent."

Pallu quitted France in the year 1681, and for the third time set out for Upper Asia. Nominated Spiritual Administrator for the whole empire of China, he embarked in 1683, with the consent of the King of Siam, for this desired land. He was accompanied by M. Maigrot of Paris, Doctor of Theology to the House and Society of the Sorbonne, and who, on entering the Society of Foreign Missions, had recently quitted France in company with nineteen other missionaries. Compelled, by stress of weather, to stay at the Island of Formosa, the Bishop of Heliopolis did not arrive at Chang-Cheou, the principal town of To-Kieu, till the year 1684. "The Jesuits and some other monks," says Father le Comte, recognised his authority, and this was a veritable delight to the bishop, who, upon this happy commencement, was again preparing to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, but God was satisfied with the good intention only." *

Feeling his end approaching, Pallu made use of the power he possessed, and nominated M. Maigrot Vice-Administrator of all China, and Vicar-Apostolic of four provinces. This courageous and zealous apostle expired at Mo-Yang in the month of October, 1684.

A single Dominican assisted M. Maigrot in rendering him the last duties. "We both performed the ceremony," he says, "with all the decency that the poverty

* Le Comte, "Nouveaux Mémoires sur la Chine," vol. ii. p. 182.

of the place allowed. We dressed the prelate in his pontifical robes, and we placed him in the church very early on the Sunday morning. On the Monday, in the afternoon, we deposited him in the coffin, in presence of the Christians, who wept bitterly at the loss of so good a father." According to the Chinese custom M. Maigrot retained the coffin until it could be taken to a place now known under the name of the Holy Mountain. During our own residence in China, we have had the satisfaction of kneeling upon this earth, consecrated by the precious relics of the preachers of the Gospel; the tombs of three bishops may be seen there, and of several missionaries, and of a great number of native Christians.

The name of France, borne by the missionaries to Upper Asia, began to be more widely known in those remote countries, and it soon made a great sensation in the capital of the Celestial Empire itself. At the same moment when the illustrious Bishop of Heliopolis gave up his last breath in China, great geographical works were being undertaken in France by the order of Louis XIV. The Royal Academy of Sciences, to which these works had been assigned, had sent its most distinguished members to all parts of the Ocean and of the Mediterranean, to England, Denmark, Africa, and America, in order to make the necessary observations. A greater difficulty was found in the choice of men to send to India and China, these countries being less known in France, and the Academicians running the risk of not being well received. "Their thoughts were then turned," says Father Fontaney *, "to the Jesuits

* "Lettres Édifiantes," vol. xxvii. p. 19.

who had missions in these countries, and whose vocation it was to go about everywhere where they hoped to effect the salvation of souls. The deceased M. Colbert did me the honour to summon me one day, together with M. Cossini, to communicate his views to me. This wise minister said these words to me which I shall never forget. 'The sciences alone, my father, are not worthy of your taking the trouble of crossing seas and obliging yourself to live in another world, far from your native country and your friends; but since the desire of converting the infidel and gaining souls to Jesus Christ has often induced your fathers to undertake such voyages, I hope that they will make use of the opportunity, and that, at times when they are not engaged in preaching the Gospel, they will make on the spot those observations still wanting to the perfection of science and art.'"

Colbert, having induced the king to concur in his project, gave orders for preparing the necessary instruments for a considerable number of learned missionaries, who were to set out for China; some by way of Muscovy and Tartary, others by Syria and Persia, and others again by sea, on board vessels belonging to the Company of India. The death of this great minister, however, suspended for a time the execution of this excellent plan.

Louis XIV. prepared to send an ambassador extraordinary to Siam, and the Marquis of Louvois, who had succeeded Colbert in the superintendence of the Arts and Sciences, asked the Superior of the Jesuits for six monks, skilful in mathematics, to send to China. "For eight years," says Father Fontaney, "I had taught mathematics in our college at Paris; and it was more

than twenty since I had applied for a mission to China or Japan. But whether I was considered unworthy, or whether Providence reserved me for another occasion, I had always been left in France. I endeavoured to live in the exact practice of all the exercises of a religious life, persuaded that the merciful designs of God, and on our behalf, are always accomplished when we faithfully follow this course. I was not deceived, for this happy occasion having presented itself, I offered myself first to our Superior, who granted me that for which I had so long wished, and desired me to seek out other missionaries to accompany me.

"I do not know how to express," adds Father Fontaney, "the consolation I felt at this moment. I considered myself a thousand times happier in carrying the sciences to the extremities of the world, where I hoped to gain souls to God, and to find occasions for suffering for His love and for the glory of His holy name, than in continuing to teach them in the first of our colleges at Paris. As soon as it was known that I was in search of missionaries for China, a great number of excellent men presented themselves, from amongst whom the Fathers Tachard, Gerbillon, Le Comte, De Visdelou, and Bouvet were chosen."

Father Tachard completes Father Fontaney's narrative thus:—"We were privately desired to hold ourselves in readiness to start in two months at furthest. The next day we went together to Montmartre, to return thanks to God, through the intermediation of the Holy Virgin and the Holy Martyrs, for the favour that had just been accorded to us and to dedicate ourselves to Jesus Christ; in this place especially, where Saint Ignatius and his companions had made their first vows. The purpose of

our journey having become public in Paris, the members of the Academy, who took most interest in it, did us the honour of receiving us into their society as an especial privilege, and we took our seats some days before our departure."

The six Jesuit missionaries having been vested by letters-patent with the title of "Mathematicians of the King," embarked at Brest, on the 3rd March, 1685, in a vessel having on board the Chevalier de Chaumont, Ambassador Extraordinary from Louis XIV. to Siam. Their voyage was prosperous, and without any remarkable event, as far as Batavia. Here they had the gratification of meeting with Father Fucite, a man entitled to veneration, both for his age and for the length of his apostolic labours. During the twenty-four years of his stay he had baptised with his own hand, in Cochin-China, no less than four thousand souls, and eighteen thousand in Tonquin. He had been nine entire months in prison; with the cangue on his neck and irons on his feet. He had made sixteen long voyages by sea, and had been five times in danger of being killed by the Infidels. Denounced to the mandarins, and pursued with animosity by their satellites, he had lived twelve years in Tonquin, concealed by day in a small boat and making perilous excursions by night to visit his beloved neophytes. Finally, he had been condemned to death, and was more than once on the eve of martyrdom. Such was the first missionary whom the founders of the French Mission in Pekin encountered on their journey, and it may easily be imagined how they drew fresh fortitude, intrepidity, love of God and of their neighbour, from the affecting narratives of this venerable apostle.

The missionaries were not long in leaving Batavia,

and setting sail for Siam. As soon as the ship's anchor was down, one of the ministers of the king hastened, in the name of his master, to pay his compliments to the Chevalier de Chaumont. "Your Excellency," he said, among other flattering things, "has, I know, already been employed on important affairs, and more than a thousand years ago was sent from France to Siam to renew the friendship of the kings who then governed those countries." The ambassador of Louis XIV., a little surprised at this strange compliment from the partisan of the Metempsychosis, replied, in all frankness, that he had lost all recollection of that important negotiation, and that it appeared to him that he had now made the voyage to Siam for the first time. The Chevalier de Chaumont then addressed the Siamese prince in a speech worthy in all respects of the most Christian king whom he represented. He declared that nothing could more closely unite the two countries than community of religion; "and," he said, in conclusion, "Sire! to bow down your greatness and majesty before the God of the Christians, who governs heaven and earth, is a much more rational thing than to lay it before the deities adored in the East, whose impotence your majesty, who has so much enlightenment and penetration, cannot fail to observe." From this it will be seen that France at this time perfectly understood her own dignity; and the representative of her government, while serving the interests of religion with fervour and preaching the Gospel zealously, never lost sight of the political advantages of his country.

A few days after their arrival at Siam, the Jesuits took an observation of a total eclipse of the moon, as it had been arranged with Cassini they should do,

before their departure from France, and this observation proved of great service in determining the longitude. The king, who piqued himself upon his knowledge of astronomy, and who had desired to assist, was so astonished at the science of the French Jesuits that he made them magnificent presents, and offered to keep them at his court; but, hearing that they were ordered to proceed to China, he consented to their departure, on condition of Father Tachard returning to France and seeking out twelve mathematicians of his own order to bring back with him.

Fathers de Fontaney, Gerbillon, De Visdelou, Bouvet, and Le Comte then embarked on board a small French vessel of the Indian Company and set sail for Macao. "The vessel," says Father Le Comte*, "belonged to Monsieur Constance, and appeared to be good, but she was so knocked about that in a few hours she began to open at all her seams." She had, in fact, encountered one of those terrible typhoons that cause such fearful ravages in the Chinese seas. The wind had become so terrific that the sailors, losing courage, left off working the ship. The pilot, thinking it more prudent to run ashore than to struggle with the tempest at the risk of being swallowed in the waves, abandoned himself to their mercy, and was providentially cast upon the shore, without injury, behind an island near the extremity of the kingdom of Cambodia.

The pilot declared it would be necessary to make a stay of several months, and wait for the next monsoon, which might enable them to get the vessel off shore, double the points, and continue their voyage; but the

* "Mémoires sur la Chine," vol. i. p. 7.

missionaries, more annoyed by the delay than fearful of any danger they might incur by going on, resolved to proceed by land to Siam, in the hope of there meeting with some English vessel bound for Canton. They plunged into the forest, therefore,—hoping to find a village and natives who might serve them as guides,—but they soon lost their way, and then their lives were in as great a peril on land as they had been before in the terrible typhoon at sea. The brooks, swollen by the rains, had rendered the paths almost impassable; and the poor missionaries, walking barefoot through rushing streams and fields covered with water, were terribly tormented by the leeches and gnats, which in those countries are the scourge of the stranger; and the forests were besides infested by serpents, tigers, elephants, and buffaloes, which prevented their enjoying one moment's undisturbed repose.

There was, too, one enemy still more formidable than these, against which the wayfarers had to struggle, namely, hunger.

As they had soon consumed the small stock of provisions they had brought away with them, and were reduced to distressing scarcity, they would, in all probability, have been starved to death, but for the accidental discovery of a village.

The inhabitants of it were not, indeed, in a position to afford them very substantial help, being themselves very slenderly provided with food, but they gave them enough to enable them to resume their march, and also showed them the way back to their vessel, which they reached, after a journey of fifteen days, in a state of great exhaustion. These fervid and intrepid monks had now had an opportunity of knowing what a dif-

ference there is between loving hardship and suffering in a cell, in your own country, and putting these resolutions into practice in the depths of forests in a remote and foreign land.

The stranded vessel was at length got into the port of Siam, and the missionaries, after waiting there for some months, decided to embark on board a Chinese junk that was going to Ning-Po, a considerable town of China, in the province of Tché-Kiang.

This they did on the 17th of June, 1687 : —

They thought they would do better not to go to Macao, as "we had been warned," says Father Le Comte, "that we should give no pleasure to the Portuguese by doing so, and that we should not find them very favourably disposed towards us."

Those only who have themselves had occasion to make a voyage on board a Chinese junk can imagine what the missionaries had to endure on the way to Ning-Po.

"By the grace of God," says Father Le Comte, "nothing was wanting that could contribute to our true mortification. In this little Chinese vessel (which the Portuguese called the Somme) we were put into a place that was day and night open to all weathers, so small that we could not stretch ourselves out in it, and near an idol blackened by the smoke of a lamp that burnt continually in its honour, and, what was more painful to us than all the rest, which was worshipped every day with diabolical superstitions.

"The sun was at that time directly over our heads, and we had scarcely any water to quench the tormenting thirst caused by the heat. We had rice three times a day, and that was all. The captain did, indeed,

desire that meat should be given to us when it was served out to the crew, but as they always offered some first to the idol, we could not resolve to touch it.

"We passed several months thus, endeavouring by our patience and our prayers to inspire these idolaters with some esteem for our holy religion—since we did not know enough of their language to make known to them the truth."

There was a Chinese Christian on board, who had been brought up at Siam, and with whom the missionaries were able to hold some communication by means of Latin. This man served them in some measure as an interpreter; but he had thought proper to take on himself the office of preacher, and he exasperated the crew by his vituperation of the idols, and of the superstitious practices with which they were worshipped. The missionaries had vainly endeavoured to moderate the dangerous vehemence of his polemics; and one day a great uproar arose in the junk, the most violent agitation prevailed from one end of the vessel to the other, and the sailors gesticulated, yelled, and rushed about as if they were possessed by evil spirits. At last they seized pikes and lances, and made their appearance on deck, with such a ferocious aspect that the missionaries supposed they were about to kill them, and that it was time to prepare for martyrdom.

"After waiting with impatience, however," says Father le Comte, "the resolution of the infidels, we perceived that the danger was not so great as we had anticipated. The sailors had only armed themselves to prepare for a procession with which they meant to honour their idol, probably to make him amends for the attacks of our interpreter. There is not a

nation in the world more superstitious than the Chinese; they pay divine honour even to the compass of their vessel, burning little sticks of perfume continually before it, and offering it meats as a sacrifice. Twice a day they regularly throw some pieces of their gilt paper money into the sea, as if to engage it in their service, and hinder it by that means from rising against them. Sometimes they would throw in also little gondolas, made of the same material, in order that, being busy in overthrowing and swallowing up these little vessels, it might be induced to spare ours.

"But when, notwithstanding all these precautions, the spirit of the sea would grow angry, and become violently agitated, a different plan was adopted; a large quantity of feathers were heaped on the fire, that their smoke and bad smell poisoning the air might drive away the spirit, as it certainly would have done if he could have smelt it."*

The various customs mentioned by Father le Comte, are still in vogue on board the Chinese junks, whenever bad weather is apprehended, and it is really curious to observe how the cunning and trickery so common in China are manifested also in their religious practices. The devotion of the Chinese appears often to consist in deceiving their gods by some artifice, doing them ill turns, and catching them in a trap, from which they cannot extricate themselves.

If a storm is very violent, they say the spirit of the sea wants to swallow the ship for a prey, and then the captain, instead of animating the courage of his sailors and manœuvring the ship in the best way he can,

* "Mémoires sur la Chine," vol. i. p. 15.

cunningly gives orders to make a miniature ship to deceive the wrathful spirit, and the crew sets to work with an incredible mixture of simplicity and knavery. Nothing is omitted to render the deception complete; the little junk has its masts, its cordage, its sails, its flags, compass, rudder, boat, arms, even its cooking utensils, provisions and merchandise, down to the very account books, with as many paper figures as there are of real men on board. When this absurd and disgraceful lie is complete, the Chinese physiognomies expand into cunning smiles at the success of the artifice. Then the tam-tams and tambourines sound, fireworks are let off, and the little mock ship is thrown overboard with a thousand imprecations, and in the midst of the most deafening clamour; all eyes follow it with anxiety, and as soon as it is swallowed by the waves, the crew burst into shouts of laughter, and rejoice to think how nicely they have tricked the spirit of the sea.

After a six-and-thirty days' voyage, which continual danger, excessive heat, hunger, thirst, and a thousand miseries had rendered extremely painful, the missionaries arrived at the mouth of the river that leads to Ning-Po. "It was," says Father le Comte, "with the liveliest joy that we first caught sight of the land to which we had been wishing for so many years to bear the light of the Gospel. But though we had reached the town it was not so easy to enter it, for China is a country of formalities where all strangers, and Frenchmen especially, have need of their whole stock of patience. On our first arrival the captain of the junk thought it advisable to hide us, and accordingly they put us in the bottom of the hold, where the heat, which had increased near the land, and many other incon-

veniences, reduced us to extremity. And after all, notwithstanding this precaution, we were found out by a custom-house officer."

Then began for the poor missionaries that long series of annoyances and tribulations which any inexperienced stranger newly landed is certain to meet with at the hands of the mandarins. The custom-house officer, persuaded that he had had the good luck to light on some valuable pieces of contraband goods, sent satellites on board to prevent disembarkation, and ran to inform the prefect of the town of his discovery.

At the news of the sudden apparition of five strangers from the Western seas, all the great and little tribunals of Ning-Po were thrown into commotion; and orders were sent for the missionaries to come immediately to the palace of the prefect, whither they went accordingly, accompanied by a numerous escort, and in the midst of an immense concourse of people still more curious to see the Europeans than they had been to become acquainted with the Chinese.

The French Jesuits were introduced into the great hall of audience, where they found the principal magistrates of the town assembled, and where they were ordered to kneel down and strike the ground nine times with their foreheads, by way of doing homage to the majesty of the Imperial government.

The aspect of the mandarins, and the imposing manner in which the whole scene was got up, did not fail to make an impression on the minds of the "Western barbarians."

"These Chinese dignitaries," says Father Le Comte, "are immovably cold and grave in their deportment, and their manners are well calculated to inspire respect

and fear, which are increased by the sight of the officers of justice standing round them, some bearing great chains, others large sticks, and always ready, at the slightest sign from the mandarin, to fall upon any one whom he desires to punish."

As soon as the missionaries had performed the nine salutations demanded by the rites, the president of the tribunal desired them to rise and declare who they were, and what they wanted in China. "We heard in Europe," they replied, "that our brother Nan-Hoai-Jen (Verbiest) was labouring successfully to make known the sanctity and truth of our religion, and the same zeal has induced us to come and share his labours." From this reply the missionaries appear to have imagined that China was like other countries, and that strangers could enter it without difficulty. The mandarins, of course, did not at all understand this view of the case, and were excessively surprised at the expectations of the missionaries, not at all understanding how people should have the liberty to come and go as they pleased, as these Western barbarians seemed to expect. They were aware, however, of the high favour Father Verbiest enjoyed with the Emperor, and the fear of compromising themselves suggested some moderation.

"We are not ignorant," they said, "that the Son of Heaven has a great regard for Nan-Hoai-Jen, whose merits are known throughout the empire. But you are strangers and your presence in the Flowery Kingdom is a serious matter — concerning the highest administrative authorities. Return, therefore, on board your junk, and we will let you know what shall have been decided with respect to you." There was not among

the magistrates of Ning-Po one who dared to take on himself the responsibility of treating the brothers of the celebrated Nan-Hoai-Jen either well or ill; but the missionaries were obliged to go every day to present themselves at some new tribunal, and were sent backwards and forwards "from Caiaphas to Pilate" without obtaining any decision; and every evening, though quite worn out with fatigue, they had to return on board their wretched junk. These long exhausting walks, which went on for eight days, and being constantly in the stifling atmosphere of the tribunals, began at last to affect the health of the missionaries, already enfeebled by their long voyage. Several of them became seriously ill; and then the chief of the custom-house officers came on board the junk, and, after examining their baggage, declared he was authorized to lodge them provisionally in the suburbs of the town, whilst awaiting the decision of the viceroy of the province concerning them. The French Jesuits, full of hope that at last their affairs were coming to a happy *dénouement*, joyfully betook themselves to the lodging assigned to them; but they were not long left in peace there. "We were informed," says Father Le Comte, "that the viceroy strongly disapproved of our being allowed to leave the vessel, and that he was fully resolved to send us back again. He wrote, at the same time, a very harsh and menacing letter to the governor of Ning-Po, and he gave notice of our arrival to the grand tribunal of Pekin, which attends to foreign affairs, and which has always been hostile to the Christian religion. He acted with bad faith, too, in this matter; for, though he was perfectly aware of our true motives for coming, he only spoke of us as five Europeans, who, from curiosity or motives of self-in-

terest, were desirous of establishing themselves in the province, contrary to the laws of the state.

The tribunal, therefore, finally determined to drive us out; and, according to custom, sent the sentence to the Emperor for confirmation.

Fortunately Father de Fontaney, the superior of the little band of missionaries, had foreseen these difficulties, and had hastened to despatch couriers to Father Intorcetta at Han-Tcheou-Fou, and Father Verbiest at Pekin, to mention the arrival, and confide to their charity the success of the enterprise. Their letters reached Pekin, however, at a time when the Emperor was absent on one of his grand hunts in Tartary; but Father Verbiest wrote an account of the affair to a mandarin of high rank in the palace, and slipped his letter in among some despatches that were sure to fall into the hands of the Emperor. Some days afterwards, when the sentence of the tribunal at Pekin was presented to the sovereign, to obtain his confirmation of it, Khang-Hi, already prepossessed in favour of the Jesuits by the letter of Father Verbiest, replied that he would examine that affair at Pekin, and then he continued the chase for fourteen days longer. This delay greatly astonished the tribunal, for, according to custom, the Emperor always signs or rejects papers of this kind within three days. Father Verbiest was in the greatest anxiety; and the missionaries, who were awaiting their sentence in the suburbs of Ning-Po, did not cease to address fervent prayers to Him who holds the hearts of kings in His "rule and governance."

As soon as the Emperor came back to Pekin, he sent for Father Verbiest, and asked for information concerning the five missionaries detained at Ning-Po.

"It is not people of this character," said he, when his inquiries had been answered, "who ought to be driven from my empire. Let all those who are skilled in mathematics come to my court, and remain near me for my service; the rest may go into whatever province they like." And an order was accordingly despatched to the tribunal of foreign affairs to have the five French Jesuits sent to Pekin in the manner of persons of distinction. The viceroy of the province of Tche-Kiang, the same who had wished to drive them out of China, had the doubtless not very agreeable duty of executing these orders, and of receiving the missionaries with pomp in his capital.

Father Le Comte describes in the following manner their triumphant entry into Han-Tcheou-Fou.

"After a journey of five days we arrived at the city, with all our luggage and a numerous suite, and without any of the unpleasant occurrences to which strangers are usually subject when they are suspected of carrying valuable articles. The Christians of Han-Tcheou-Fou, who had been greatly interested in our affairs, surpassed themselves on this occasion. They came crowding down to the banks of the river to receive us, and when we had landed, conducted us, as in triumph, to the church, showing perhaps rather more zeal than prudence; for, without asking the opinion of Father Intorcetta, the superior of the mission, they had had prepared for each of us a palanquin, borne by five men, into which we were obliged to enter, without foreseeing what was intended, since, not understanding their language, they could not explain it to us.

"As soon as, partly by stratagem and partly by force, they had got us into the palanquins, and there was no

getting out again, we were under the necessity of joining the procession, and then we found that ten or twelve musicians and trumpeters were to march with their instruments at the head of it. After them came some guards on horseback bearing flags; after them men on foot armed with pikes and lances; and then four officers, each bearing a great placard of varnished red paper, upon which was written in large golden letters, 'Doctors of the Celestial Law, summoned to Court.'

"The procession was closed by our palanquins, surrounded by a multitude of Christians and an immense throng of pagans, attracted by the novelty of the spectacle.

"We traversed the whole town in this style, that is to say, full three miles, feeling extremely ashamed and mortified not to have foreseen the indiscreet zeal of our friends, and we resolved to mention our objections to the proceeding on reaching the church. Father Intorcetta was waiting at the door to conduct us to the altar, and then, after having prostrated ourselves nine times, and returned most fervent thanks to the Divine Majesty, who had at last miraculously conducted us to the promised land, across the vast ocean and in spite of the resistance of our enemies, we returned to our friends the Christians of Han-Tcheou-Fou. We then told them, through Father Intorcetta, that we were very sensible of all the marks of affection they had shown us, and much edified by their zeal for the glory of the true God; but that the very showy manner in which they had received us was scarcely in harmony with Christian humility.

"The good people only replied by throwing themselves on their knees and imploring our blessing. Their

fervour, and a certain air of modesty and devotion, which the Chinese, when they like, can assume better than any other people in the world, completely disarmed us, and we could not refrain from tears of emotion and joy."

For several days the missionaries enjoyed in the midst of their brethren and neophytes, the sweets of domestic life, and then they prepared to continue their journey to Pekin.

The viceroy of Han-Tcheou-Fou, who feared that he had compromised himself by the ill will he had previously manifested, wished now to make amends, by arranging the ceremony of departure with all possible magnificence.

As the journey was to be by water, he placed at the disposal of the missionaries a large and splendid junk, in which nothing was wanting that could contribute to the pleasure and security of the voyage. The interior was covered with varnish and painting and gilding, in the style of the richest furniture made in China; and the munificence of the viceroy had even gone so far as to send on board a band of musicians, to dispel the ennui of travelling by their harmonious performances. A mandarin of distinction also was charged to accompany to Pekin "the mathematicians sent by Louis XIV. to Khang-Hi," and to pay them on the route the honours due to the first dignitaries of the empire.

The journey was made by short stages, and in the midst of that Chinese pomp which is so little in accordance with the ideas and habits of Europeans. Every morning, as soon as the anchor was raised, the hautboys, trumpets, and tam-tams began to play; then three great guns were fired, accompanied with other equally noisy

demonstrations, to announce that the imperial junk was again in motion. Every time that they passed a mandarin, junk, or a village, the firing and the music began again: and whenever they had been obliged to anchor, either for the night or on account of contrary winds, the same noisy ceremony was repeated. This uproar is the delight of the mandarins, but from our own experience of similar honours we should say the missionaries paid dearly for them.

If it were but possible to get a little quiet in the night, so that it might be in one's power to sleep, it would not be so bad; but the Chinese have a secret for preventing this. Towards ten o'clock in the evening, as Father Le Comte informs us, ten or twelve of the inhabitants of the village, before which the junk had anchored, would come and range themselves in a row by the waterside; the captain of the junk would then present himself gravely on the poop, and begin a speech, in which he dwelt much on the obligation they were under to take good care of all that belonged to the emperor, and to watch over the safety of the mandarins, who, on their part, watched over the happiness of the people and the tranquillity of the state. Afterwards he explained to them in detail all the accidents that might be apprehended—storms, fire, thieves, &c., warning them not to render themselves responsible for any harm that might happen through their neglect. The villagers replied to each clause of the speech by loud cries signifying assent, and then, retiring a little, organised a sort of guard amongst themselves, and left a sentinel who walked backwards and forwards on the bank, striking continually two pieces of bamboo against one another. This was intended to make known that he was

not asleep, but at the risk of keeping every body else awake. This went on for an hour, and then the sentinel was relieved by another; but it was no relief to the missionaries; for he kept up the same noise without a moment's intermission: "As if," says Father Le Comte, "their express business had been to prevent our sleeping. It must be owned, however, that of all kinds of conveyance, there is none so easy as these junks. After a thirteen days' voyage we arrived at Yang-Tcheou, as fresh as if we had been all the while in our own house."

It was on the 3rd of January that the missionaries arrived at Yang-Tcheou, a large and beautiful town of the province of Nankin. Here they were obliged to leave the great imperial canal on account of the ice; but they were provided with palanquins, and horses for their attendants, the baggage was carried by a great number of porters, and the journey was continued by land, with no less pomp than before, though with less ease and pleasure.

As they advanced towards the north, the cold became more and more intense, and was so severe by the time they reached the banks of the Hoang-Ho, that this river, though one of the broadest and most rapid in China, was almost entirely covered by the ice. The people were obliged to work a whole day to break it, and it was not without incurring considerable peril they could reach the opposite shore. The missionaries, who had almost sunk under the heat in the province of Tché-Kiang, were more than once in danger of perishing from cold, in traversing those of Chang-Tong, and Pé-Tchi-Li, and the ice, the snow, and the cutting north wind accompanied them the whole of the rest of the

way to Pekin, where they arrived on the 8th of February, 1688. They had left Ning-Po on the 26th of November of the preceding year, but as they had stopped at various places, it may be considered that they were not more than a month and a half on their journey, about as long as it takes now to go from Paris to Canton.

The arrival of the Fathers de Fontaney, Gerbillon, Bouvet, Le Comte, and de Visdelon at Pekin took place at a most melancholy moment. The Christians were in the deepest grief, and even the inhabitants of the capital appeared to mourn—for Father Verbiest had just expired. The French Jesuits had been sustained throughout their long journey by the hope of meeting this apostle, whom the Christians of China regarded, with reason, as the father and protector of religion in their country; they had long sighed for the happiness of placing themselves under the guidance of this great man, and training their souls to apostolic virtues by the counsels of one who had so bravely confessed the name of Jesus Christ through many trying vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity. But the Lord did not think fit to grant them this great consolation; possibly because he deemed it best for them to be instructed in the same school of suffering, and to learn practically that the life of a preacher of the Gospel should be to the end a life of sacrifice. They only arrived in time to be present at the funeral of him whom they had chosen to guide their footsteps in this difficult and painful career.

Father Verbiest had had originally a very robust constitution, but his unremitting and excessive exertions had entirely exhausted it, and a long continued state of

weakness had terminated in pulmonary consumption. The emperor's physicians had procured him much relief by some of the admirable medicines which are found in China; but they could not finally arrest the progress of the disease. After having received the sacrament, with a fervid piety that deeply affected all present, the illustrious confessor of the Faith yielded his soul to the Lord on the 26th of January, 1688, thirteen days before the arrival of the French Jesuits at Pekin.

He was equally regretted by the Emperor, the mandarins, and the people, who had formed the highest idea of his virtue and abilities, and still more by the missionaries, who owed to him the re-establishment of the Christian religion, and by the converts, whom he encouraged and protected, warding off from them many persecutions with which they were menaced.

The grief which the Emperor Khang-Hi had suffered from the death of his mother was in a great measure renewed when, on the following day, he learned that of Father Verbiest; and he desired that the funeral of the learned missionary might be deferred till the court was out of the first, or "great mourning," and he then sent two of the chief dignitaries of the empire to perform in his name the duties with which it is customary in China to honour the dead. The two representatives of the sovereign knelt down before the coffin, which was laid in a hall illuminated with an immense number of red and white wax lights; they burnt perfume and prostrated themselves many times, striking the ground with their foreheads and uttering long groans; and when they had thus expressed all the grief prescribed by "the rites" in similar circumstances, they read with a loud voice, in the presence of a numerous audience, the eulogium that

the emperor himself had composed, and which was to be deposited on the coffin. This imperial panegyric is as follows:—

"When I consider within myself that Nan-Hoai-Jen quitted the kingdoms of the West of his own accord, to come to my empire, and that he passed a great part of his life in my service, I feel that I owe him this testimony, that, during all the time that he has presided over the Board of Mathematics and Celestial Literature, his predictions have never been falsified, but have always been conformable with the movements of the heavens. Besides this he has been so far from neglecting the execution of my orders, that he has always fulfilled them with diligence and exactness; been faithful and constant in his labours unto the end, and always equal to himself.

"As soon as I heard of his malady I sent my physician to him; but when I heard that he had saluted the world, and that the sleep of death had at last separated him from us, my heart was oppressed with a lively grief. I send two hundred ounces of silver, and several pieces of silk, to contribute to his obsequies, and I wish that this edict should remain as a public testimony to the sincere affection I bore him." *

The example of the Emperor was followed by several great mandarins of the court, who also wrote on pieces of satin eulogiums on Father Verbiest.

On the 11th of March, the day fixed for the funeral, Khang-Hi sent several persons of importance to honour the ceremonial by their presence in his name. The persons who were to form the procession began to as-

* Le Comte, "Mémoires sur la Chine," vol. i. p. 86.

semble towards seven o'clock in the morning, at the residence of the Jesuits, where the body was lying. In China, as is well known, coffins are generally very large, made of wood three or four inches thick, gilded and varnished, and hermetically closed, so that no air can get in. That containing the remains of Father Verbiest was now carried out into the street, and placed on a litter beneath a sort of dome richly covered, and supported by four columns, and decorated with hangings of white mourning silk; while from one column to the other hung festoons of various colours, so arranged as to harmonise well with the white. The litter was then fastened upon two long poles of a foot in diameter, which eighty men, ranged in two lines, were to bear on their shoulders.

The superior of the mission, accompanied by all the Jesuits of Pekin, then came and knelt down in the middle of the street before the body, and prostrated themselves three times to the earth, whilst the Chinese Christians burst into tears, and uttered lamentable cries, according to the custom of the country; and then all were ranged in the order of march. The funeral was to proceed through two great streets, about a hundred feet broad and three miles long, to the west gate of the city, which is not far from the place of sepulture granted to Father Ricci.

The march now began in the following order: first came a red silk banner, twenty-five feet high, and four broad, and adorned with festoons, on which, in Chinese characters of gold, the name and dignities of Father Verbiest were inserted.

This banner, which was held high in the air, was accompanied by a troop of musicians, and followed by

another bearing flags, festoons, and streamers, round the eulogium composed by the Emperor, which was written, or rather painted, upon a large piece of yellow satin.

The cross appeared next, in a sort of shrine, decorated with coloured silk hangings, and followed by Chinese Christians with flags and wax lights, walking two and two through the vast streets of Pekin with an air of modesty greatly admired by the infidels. Next came, in another shrine, an image of the Holy Virgin with the infant Jesus, and holding the globe of the world in her hand; the Christians who followed this also bore flags or wax lights, like those who had preceded them.

After this came a picture of the Archangel Michael, accompanied in the same manner, and followed by the portrait of Father Verbiest, which was borne along surrounded by all the symbols pertaining to the offices with which he had been honoured by the Emperor. Immediately following this came the Jesuits in their *white* mourning habits, and, from time to time, stopping to express their grief, according to the custom of the Chinese, by groans and sobs. The body of Father Verbiest was borne next, accompanied by the mandarins whom the Emperor had appointed to do honour to the memory of the illustrious missionary. These were all mounted, and the one who went first was the father-in-law of the Emperor; the second, his chief captain of guards; and then others of more or less importance; and the whole procession, which was conducted with the greatest order and propriety, was closed by fifty horsemen, while the streets on each side were filled by an immense populace, keeping a profound silence.

The cemetery of the Jesuits is outside the city, in a garden given by one of the last emperors of the dynasty of Ming to one of the first missionaries of the Society; it is enclosed by walls, and contains a chapel and some other small buildings.

When the procession arrived at the gate, the coffin was placed in the middle of the way, and all knelt down and performed before it the three customary prostrations; here the tears of the persons present began again; and the body was carried to the place where it was to be buried, where an altar had been prepared upon which was placed a cross and some wax lights.

The superior of the mission, clothed in his surplice, then read the appointed prayers, and made the offerings of incense, as ordered in the Ritual. Then the Jesuits again prostrated themselves three times before the coffin, which was taken from the bier, and the cries of the attendants burst forth with such violence that it is said even the most indifferent were at last seen shedding tears.

When the ceremonies were all concluded the missionaries listened on their knees to an address made to them by the father-in-law of the Emperor, who was commissioned to deliver to them the following message from His Imperial Majesty.

"Father Verbiest has rendered great services to the State. The Son of Heaven is fully persuaded of this, and has sent me to-day with these illustrious persons to make a public acknowledgment of them, in order that every one may know of the great affection he has borne to the deceased, and the grief that he has felt for his death."

The superior of the mission then made a suitable reply, and the assembly dispersed.

The grave was a kind of vault six feet deep, seven long, and five wide, and it was completely lined and paved with brick.

The coffin was placed in the middle on a kind of tressel of brick, about a foot high, and the walls of the vault were afterwards built up to the height of six or seven feet, terminating in an arch, surmounted by a cross. Finally, at some few feet from the tomb was placed a marble monument of about six feet in height, base and capital included, on which was inserted, in Chinese and Latin, the name of the defunct, with his age and country, the year of his death, and the time he had lived in China.

The enclosure has been for a long time the burial place of the missionaries; the tomb of Father Ricci occupies the place of honour at the end of the garden, as if to show that he was the founder of the mission, and the rest are ranged in two lines below him. The remains of Father Schall are, however, placed apart in a sepulchre truly royal, which the Emperor Khang-Hi had made for him some years after his death, when the memory of that great man was restored to its well-merited fame.

Some days after the ceremony of the funeral, the Tribunal of Rites presented a memorial to the Emperor in which it asked and received permission to pay fresh honours to Father Verbiest. A sum of seven hundred ounces of gold was voted for the purpose of building a mausoleum, and it was also determined to have engraved on a marble tablet the eulogium upon him composed by the Emperor, and to depute mandarins to pay him the last honours in the name of the empire.

Finally, a posthumous title, higher than any that he had borne during his life, was granted to him.

Father Verbiest was assuredly one of the most illustrious of those ancient missionaries of Pekin, whose zeal, virtue, and knowledge shed so much glory on the religion and order of the Jesuits. He possessed a wonderful facility of acquirement, and so much industry, that the amount of scientific labours that he got through, in addition to all the duties of his ministry, is all but incredible. Not to speak of his voluminous correspondence he has left more than thirty works, some of which are of the most extensive and elaborate kind, and he was, nevertheless, almost continually occupied at the court, either in giving lessons to the Emperor, or in executing various works useful in themselves or calculated to excite the curiosity of the mandarins. He seems to have been familiar with all that was most rare and ingenious in the arts and sciences of the time, and even in some instances to have gone far beyond his age, and it is highly probable that he anticipated the great discovery of modern times, the motive power of steam.

In his learned work, entitled *Astronomia Europœa*, there is a curious account of some experiments that he made at Pekin, with what we may call steam-engines. He placed an *œolipile* * upon a car, and directed the steam generated within it upon a wheel to which four wings were attached; the motion thus produced was communicated by gearing to the wheel of the car.

* An hydraulic instrument, consisting of a hollow ball of metal, having a slender neck, or pipe, with a very small orifice inserted into it. It was contrived for the purpose of showing the convertibility of water into steam.—*Tr.*

The machine continued to move with great velocity as long as the steam lasted, and by means of a kind of helm, it could be turned in various directions.

An experiment was made with the same instrument applied to a small ship and with no less success; and Father Verbiest, after giving an account of these experiments, adds these very remarkable words:—*Dato hoc principio motûs multa alia excogitari facile est.**

Who knows whether the first locomotive and the first steam-boat may not have performed their functions in the gardens of the Imperial palace at Pekin, under the direction of a Catholic missionary? The nation that invented the compass, gunpowder, and the art of printing, was worthy to witness first the marvels effected by the power of steam.

Father Verbiest, however, notwithstanding his rare virtues and eminent intellectual qualifications, or, perhaps, in consequence of them, was a mark for the envenomed shafts of slander from his contemporaries.

His memory was vehemently attacked in Europe, for he was a Jesuit, and it is well known that it was then the fashion to attack with the utmost fury the disciples of St. Ignatius. Nothing was omitted that could tarnish the glory they had acquired, or deprive them of the fame due to their talents and virtues. Father Verbiest, it was said, was an ambitious man, a intriguer, a mere fawning courtier of the Emperor Khang-Hi.

Such was the portrait which, by dint of misconstruction of all his words and actions, it was possible to

* The motive power of steam being given, it is easy to make many other applications of it.

draw of this great missionary; but the following is an example of the bad faith of his detractors: —

The *Journal des Savants*, which liked to keep its readers informed of what was passing in China, gave in its number for January 21st, 1697, the following remarks in an article signed by a certain M. Cousin: — "Father Verbiest, when on his deathbed, sent to the Emperor a paper in which, among other things, he writes: 'I die content since I have employed almost all the moments of my life in the service of your majesty,' and then the writer goes on, "the two apostles who died at Rome would not have been able to say as much to Nero."

This article created great scandal, for it could not be denied that the paper quoted was authentic, and certainly written by Father Verbiest; the words given were an extract from a letter from Pekin, the writer of which (Father Le Comte) was himself a Jesuit; but there was, nevertheless, an odious misrepresentation in the matter. The Journalist, in order to produce the effect he intended, had made use of a device not uncommon in such cases, and quoted the first two lines without noticing what followed. The passage was thus: —

"I die content since I have been able to employ almost all the moments of my life in the service of your majesty; but I humbly beg you to remember after my death that in all that I have done I have had no other view than to procure, in the person of the greatest monarch of the East, a protector for the most holy religion of the universe."

These words are worthy of an aged and dying missionary, who was still intent on the sacred interests

of the religion for the sake of which he had quitted his country, endured chains and imprisonment, and remained in perpetual exile at the extremity of the world.

Whilst the Christians of Pekin were weeping the loss of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, the mission of Nan-kin was also plunged into mourning, for it had lately lost its beloved apostle, the venerable Gregory-Lopez, the Chinese missionary, a part of whose noble and devoted life we have related.

Having returned, as we have said, from Manilla, after having received the honour of priesthood, and the habit of St. Dominic, he effected numerous conversions among his countrymen. The idolaters respected him, the faithful regarded him as a father, the missionaries of all Orders set a high value on his friendship, and there were few of them to whom Lopez had not rendered some special service; and, in short, the Chinese apostle was held in esteem and veneration not only through all the provinces of China, but even in the neighbouring kingdoms. Whilst Father Navarette, on his arrival at Rome, was describing to the Holy See the merit, the virtues, and the zeal of Lopez, the Vicars-Apostolic of Siam, Cochin-China, and Tong-King were writing to the pope to represent to him that the Chinese missionary would be able to act in a more efficient manner for the glory of God, if he were raised to a higher degree of authority. The testimony of these prelates being quite in accordance with that of Father Navarette, Clement X. was pleased to raise Lopez to the dignity of Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic. In letters dated 1674, having extolled the virtues and evangelical labours of Gregory Lopez, whom he calls Chinese by birth and Dominican by

profession, he declares that it is as much because he is aware of the ardent zeal of the missionary for the orthodox faith, as to comply with the wishes of several illustrious prelates, that he appoints him Vicar-Apostolic over six provinces of China, with the title of Bishop of Basilea.

These letters were forwarded to the Chinese Dominican, whose modesty was terrified at the thought of such an elevation, and he was therefore allowed for the present to remain a simple missionary, and occupy himself as before with maintaining the ancient missions, and founding new ones. But Pope Innocent XI., resuming the design of Clement X., forwarded new letters apostolic to conquer his resistance; and his superior, the general of the Dominicans, wrote to exhort him to submit to the will of the vicar of Jesus Christ; and at the same time he enjoined the provincial of the Philippines to assign the new prelate a learned theologian as a companion and counsellor; a necessary precaution, whether because the theological learning of Lopez was not equal to his sanctity, or that the influence of his first education, and the desire to facilitate the conversion of his countrymen, rendered him too little scrupulous with regard to their ceremonies. He was, it seems, desirous of tolerating the honours paid by the Chinese to Confucius and to the dead; rites which, as we have said, were disapproved by the Dominicans. The Holy See, however, had not yet pronounced any decided opinion on this subject; and Lopez, saw in the rites nothing but civil honours rendered to the memory of a great philosopher and to the ancestors, an opinion which did no prejudice to his religion, and did not obscure the lustre of his eminent virtues, but suggested the

expediency of associating with him a well-instructed theologian.

On this occasion the Bishop-elect of Basilea sent forth a little work in twenty pages, written in Chinese on this very subject, of the controversy that divided the Christian missionaries of China; and in this he candidly confesses, 1st, that the literati of China are atheists; 2nd, that in the spring and autumn it is customary to offer to Confucius a hog, a goat, wine, fruits, and silk stuffs; that the governors of towns are bound to present themselves before his tablet twice a month, and the mandarins whenever they go to take possession of an office, when they have to offer perfumes and wax lights. Further, that the animals offered are required to be carefully selected, and the people have to prepare themselves for the ceremony by fasting, &c. That for such occasions retreat and separation from worldly affairs are recommended (as well as baths and purifications), in order that they may be fit to communicate with the spirits on the day of the ceremony. The author adds that the Chinese offer the blood and hair of animals, and that, as a necessary condition to the sacrifice, they announce to the spirits of the defunct what they are about to do. The prelate acknowledges that the Chinese keep in their houses the tablets of their ancestors, that they visit them every day, make profound salutations to them, and render them an account of their affairs; that when a child is born to them, or that they intend to marry one of their daughters, they give notice to that effect to their deceased relatives, and that they serve meats before their tablets on the first and fifth day of the moon. Finally, Lopez does not deny that they offer prayers and return thanks to the spirits, in

order that they may procure them what is good, and turn from them all kinds of evil.

In this pamphlet Gregory-Lopez divides the Chinese into three classes. First, those of the literati of the highest order; secondly, those of inferior attainments, including ordinary functionaries and citizens; thirdly, that of the illiterate populace. Lopez affirms that the more enlightened of these classes do not generally admit the errors which are mingled with the ceremonies in honour of ancestors, nor the presence of the souls of the dead in the tablets, but that others adopt them; all are persuaded that their different ancestors have more power than they had during their lives, that they exercise influence for good or evil over the fortunes of their descendants, and that they enjoy the offerings presented to them.

He adds that this faith has been established for two thousand years, and that the commentators have explained the text of the classic books in this sense, although it is by no means clear that that is really the meaning of the passage cited. The literary men of the second class are said to be similarly divided in their opinions, but that among the third these errors prevail almost without exception.

The Bishop of Basilea could not be ignorant of the ceremonies in use among his countrymen, and it may well be supposed that he was better informed of the facts concerning this question than any other of the missionaries; but he had never been a skilful theologian, and after having spoken thus of the offerings made to Confucius, and the manner in which people prepared themselves for the ceremony, he merely adds,

"All this appears at first to exceed the limits of merely civil honours, and approach the confines of superstition." The most learned of the Dominicans, whom a long practice of ministerial functions in China had also made fully acquainted with all that related to the manners and customs of the people, thought and spoke quite differently upon this point.

Gregory-Lopez, whose sentiments on the subject of the rites we have thought it necessary to state, continued to exert himself during the five or six remaining years of his life, with the same zeal and success as during the thirty that preceded his elevation to the episcopacy; and at his death, which took place at Nankin, in 1687, the missionaries of every order expressed the sincerest grief. A French bishop who had been intimately acquainted with him says: —

"After a long illness, borne with admirable patience, the very illustrious Gregory-Lopez, Bishop of Basilea and Vicar-Apostolic, departed by a holy death. It would be difficult to express in a few words the great labours and great services for which this mission is indebted to him, or the faithful attachment which he bore to the Holy Order of Preaching Friars, of which he had long made profession. We ought, indeed, to rejoice in the Lord that he has seen fit to bestow an immortal crown on this bishop, the first of his nation; a prelate whose equal will not easily be found for ages, and who has been even more serviceable to his country since his death than he was during his life. I cannot, nevertheless, refrain from mourning that he has been snatched from us at a time when the vineyard of the Lord seemed to have need of a labourer like him;

but we have ground for the hope that God has glorified him in heaven. For myself I cannot too much honour his memory; and I do not doubt that all missionaries, or rather all Christians, will ever preserve the same sentiments of veneration towards him." *

* Touron, "Histoire des Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique," vol. v. p. 599.

CHAP. IV.

THE FRENCH MISSIONARIES RECEIVED BY THE EMPEROR.—DESCRIPTION OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE.—PORTRAIT OF KHANG-HI.—TWO MISSIONARIES ATTACHED TO THE COURT, AND THREE SENT TO THE PROVINCES.—FIRST RELATIONS OF THE MUSCOVITES WITH THE SIBERIANS.—THE MUSCOVITES INVADE SIBERIA AS FAR AS THE FRONTIER OF THE MANTCHOO TARTARS.—CONTEST BETWEEN THESE TWO NATIONS.—CHINESE EMBASSY TO SIBERIA.—FATHER GERBILLON NEGOTIATES THE TREATY OF PEACE OF NIPTCHOU.—THE EMPEROR STUDIES THE SCIENCES OF EUROPE WITH THE JESUITS.—PERSECUTION.—PROCLAMATION OF A VICEROY.—FATHER INTORCETTA BEFORE THE TRIBUNALS.—THE PRINCE SOSAN DECLARES FOR THE MISSIONARIES.—PERSECUTION REDOUBLED.—HEROISM OF A PHYSICIAN.—THE MISSIONARIES HAVE RECOURSE TO THE EMPEROR.—KHANG-HI RECEIVES THEM COOLLY.—PETITION PRESENTED BY THE MISSIONARIES TO THE EMPEROR.

When the French missionaries arrived at Pekin, they were not able immediately to enter into relations with the mandarins or the Emperor, as the death of the Empress mother had, as we have seen, taken place almost simultaneously with that of Father Verbiest; the court was in mourning, and Chinese customs and law rigorously interdict, under such circumstances, the receiving or paying visits for a certain number of days.

As soon as the legally appointed term was over, Khang-Hi sent an officer of the palace to visit the five missionaries who had recently arrived, and address to them various questions. It is curious to observe how far the Emperor of China was at this period, (thanks to the missionaries,) from being indifferent to the events

passing in Europe. Not only did he like to be informed of what took place in the kingdoms of the West, but he was also anxious to hear what foreign sovereigns thought of the military successes and the glory of the Son of Heaven.

The officers of the Imperial palace asked the missionaries what was thought in France of the military and scientific journeys of the Emperor to Tartary; of the long war that he had waged against Ou-Sang-Koui; and of the numerous victories by which he had effected the pacification of the empire. He also desired to know in what state they had left science in Europe, whether it was making progress, and whether any new invention or important discovery had been made. In the course of this conversation, the French missionaries did not fail, doubtless patriotically, to magnify the importance of France and Louis XIV.; for a few days afterwards the same officer returned, by command of the Emperor, to ask for some further explanation concerning the war with Holland and the famous passage of the Rhine, since what had been told him appeared to him incredible. He thought that river must be less broad, and deep, and rapid than they had asserted, or that, perhaps, the Dutch had had their reasons for not vigorously opposing the passage of the French.

Father Le Comte, to whom we are indebted for this account, enables us to perceive to what an extent, at this epoch so glorious for France, the name of Louis XIV. filled the imaginations and influenced the affairs of his contemporaries. "We regretted," he says, "that our imperfect knowledge of the Chinese language prevented us from giving this officer an adequate idea of the good fortune, the intrepidity, the greatness of soul that

characterised Louis the Great, whose troops found nothing impossible when they were fighting in his sight and animated by his example. The father who served us as interpreter told him enough, however, to show him that only a hero could form or execute such enterprises, and some of the circumstances related astonished him so much that he rose immediately to communicate them to the Emperor.

"As he went out," adds Father Le Comte, "the officer of the palace turned towards us and said, 'What I have heard is very extraordinary, but what I see is no less so. Is it possible that these religious men, who have been living here a long time, who are of a different nation from yours, and who do not know you, should nevertheless regard you as brothers? You treat them too in the same manner, and you seem to feel towards one another as if you had been friends all your lives, merely because you are united by the ties of the same religion. This fraternal feeling charms me, and does not permit me to doubt for a moment of the truth of what you preach.'"

It is indeed a thing very likely to astonish heathens, when they see men, personally unknown, mutually loving one another, because they are of the same faith; but Catholics alone can expect thus to find sincere and devoted friends in all parts of the world, civilised or savage.

As the French missionaries had come to Pekin publicly, under the authority of the Emperor, they had, in order to make their position a perfectly regular one, to present themselves to the Li-Pou, or supreme court for foreign affairs, and they were received in that same

hall of this terrible tribunal, where, some years before, the Christian missionaries had been brought, loaded with irons, and pursued by the hatred of the chief magistrates. But times were changed now, and the mandarins of the Li-Pou received the French Jesuits in the most amiable and respectful manner; the president presenting them with an Imperial decree, written on a piece of varnished wood, and wrapped in yellow satin, which allowed them to establish themselves in whatever province of the empire they pleased.

The president also announced to them that the Emperor would soon see them, and that they might be presented by Father Pereira, the superior of the mission.

A few days after this audience at the Li-Pou, two eunuchs came from the palace to give official notice that the superior was expected to present himself on the following day in a certain court of the Imperial palace; and they hastened also to instruct the new comers concerning the ceremonies to be observed in the presence of the Emperor. The rigorous importance attached by the Chinese to the observance of these formalities is well known, but the education of the missionaries on these points did not give their instructors much trouble, as they were already in some measure acquainted with Chinese customs. We will now allow Father Le Comte to describe the presentation in his own words.

"We were carried in a palanquin to the first gate, whence we proceeded on foot through eight courts of surprising extent, surrounded by buildings of various architecture, not at all remarkable for beauty, with exception of the large square pavilions, erected near

the door of communication, which were certainly magnificent. These doors, by which you pass from one court to another, are of extraordinary thickness, broad, lofty, well proportioned, and built of white marble, though time has greatly deteriorated their beauty and polish. One of the courts is intersected by a rivulet of running water, crossed by several small white marble bridges, of superior workmanship. It is difficult to give a very exact description of this palace, since its beauty does not so much consist in the various portions of the architecture as in the prodigious mass of buildings and the endless succession of courts and gardens, regularly arranged, and forming a whole worthy of the august and powerful monarch who inhabits it.

"One thing, however, struck me particularly, and it appears to be unique in its kind, namely, the throne of the Emperor. In the middle of one of these vast courts, rises a square marble base of grand and massive proportions, completely isolated, and surmounted by a tasteful balustrade. This first pedestal serves as the base of a second, somewhat smaller, and is ornamented by a balustrade resembling the first. In this manner the edifice rises to the height of five stories, each smaller than the one below, and the top forming a square hall or platform, with a roof covered with gilt tiles, and resting on rows of varnished columns, within which is the actual throne.

"These immense pedestals, with their balustrades rising one above another, seem, when the sun shines on them, to be crowned with a glittering palace of gold and varnish, and have so much the more effect from being seen in the midst of this spacious court; and if

the decorations had a little of the simplicity which gives so much relief to our architectural works, it would be, perhaps, the grandest throne that has ever been raised to the glory of a great prince.

"After having walked through the palace for more than a quarter of an hour, we arrived at last at the apartments of the Emperor, the entrance to which was by no means magnificent; but the antechamber was decorated with sculptures, gilding, and marble, the design and extreme cleanliness of which made the material appear to great advantage.

"The apartment, on account of the court mourning, which was not yet over, had been entirely unfurnished, and had nothing remarkable in it but the person of the sovereign, who was seated, in the Tartar fashion, on an estrade or sofa three feet high, and covered with a plain white* carpet, looking very much like a piece of felt.

"There were some books near him, with ink, and some of the small brushes used for writing; he wore a robe of black satin lined with sables, and to the right and left of him stood two lines of young eunuchs, very negligently dressed, without any weapons, their feet close together, and their arms hanging straight down by their sides.

"The Emperor had purposely appeared before us in this plain attire and modest environment, as he liked better that we should notice his filial piety towards his mother, the deceased Empress, and the grief he still felt for her loss, than be dazzled by the splendour by which he was habitually surrounded. As soon as we

* It will not be forgotten that white is the mourning colour in China.

reached the door we began to run hard, for etiquette requires that you should hasten as much as possible to the presence of the Emperor; and when we came opposite to him, we all stood still in a line, with our arms down to our sides.

"Afterwards we knelt down, and having raised our joined hands to our heads in such a manner as to keep wrists and elbows at the same height, we prostrated ourselves three several times, and then rose and stood as before. A minute afterwards we had to go through the same ceremony again, and then a third time, when we were told we might advance and kneel down just before the Emperor.

"The monarch spoke to us in a very gentle manner, and after having interrogated us concerning the grandeur and the present state of France, the length and the perils of our voyage, and the manner in which we had been treated by the mandarins, he said at last: 'See whether I can add anything to the favours I have shown you. What do you desire from me? You may freely give utterance to your wishes.'

"We returned him humble thanks, and prayed his permission to raise our hands every day to Heaven, to implore the blessing of the true God on his person and empire.

"He appeared pleased with this answer, and permitted us to retire, which we did without going through any further ceremony. The respect inspired by the presence of the greatest monarch of Asia did not prevent us from taking a good long look at him; but fearing that this might be considered too great a freedom, and knowing that where the Emperor is concerned

there is in China no such thing as a small fault, we had taken the precaution to ask leave for this beforehand.

"The Emperor appears to be above the middle height, more fleshy than what are considered fine men in Europe, but rather less so than a Chinese desires to be. His face is full, but marked with the small pox; his forehead broad; his eyes and nose small like those of most of the Chinese; the mouth handsome; and the lower part of the face very agreeable. His manners are gracious; but there is nevertheless a certain air about him that indicates a habit of command, and shows the master. We left his apartment to enter another, paved with marble and tolerably clean, where an officer of the palace, after having had tea served to us, presented us, on the part of the Emperor, with about a hundred ounces of silver."

This does not appear a very magnificent present for such a great sovereign as the Emperor of China; but it is not very little if we take into consideration the customs of a country where the great men are in the habit of receiving much, and giving almost nothing.

The Emperor Khang-Hi had the intention of keeping the lately arrived French missionaries at Pekin, and wished, indeed, to lodge them all five in his palace; but this plan, though a great honour, did not exactly suit Father Pereira. In his character of superior, he had to consider what was for the general good, and he knew that in the provinces the number of missionaries were insufficient for the work, and that several Christian communities had been in consequence abandoned. It was necessary, therefore, to employ some skilful diplomacy, and genlty to induce the Emperor to desist from his intentions.

Father Pereira, who was very expert in Chinese policy, conducted this difficult negotiation with so much ability, that the Son of Heaven desisted from his purpose; and after having reproached the missionaries in a friendly manner for not being willing to remain at court, he declared that he would retain in his service the Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, and would allow the others to go into the interior of his empire to preach the religion of the Lord of Heaven.

The Fathers de Visdelou, Le Comte, and de Fontaney, then dispersed themselves through the provinces, to labour for the conversion of the infidels, and the spiritual advancement of the neophytes. Father de Visdelou established himself at Chan-Si, and visited the most remote missions with intrepid self-devotion; and it was in the midst of these apostolic labours, capable of themselves of occupying a man's whole time, that he managed, by extraordinary zeal and activity, aided by the natural talent for acquiring languages with which he was gifted, to make such extraordinary progress in the difficult study of the Chinese literature.

Father Le Comte went to the province of Chen-Si, and laboured with much effect in the propagation of the Gospel; and in the interesting memoirs which he has given to the public one may see how the blessing of God rested on his work. Father de Fontaney went to Nankin, and thence to Shang-Hai, a flourishing Christian community, which, as we have said, owed its origin to the conversion of Dr. Paul, the first Colao of the empire, in the time of Father Ricci. During his stay at Shang-Hai, Father de Fontaney several times visited the tomb of a brother and compatriot, Jacques Le Favre, a man equally illustrious for his virtue and

his talents. He was the son of a counsellor in the parliament of Paris; and was teaching theology with much success and applause in the University of Bourges, when God called him to the mission of China, where he died after having laboured for several years in the conversion of souls.

In the beginning of the year 1689, Khang-Hi made a journey to the southern provinces, and during his stay at Nankin Father de Fontaney was admitted several times to the palace with the other missionaries, and the Emperor sent a high dignitary of the court to return the visit. These imperial favours tended much to forward the progress of the missions; and the mandarins of the neighbouring provinces, when they returned to their respective governments, did not fail to make reports of the Emperor's graceful behaviour, that were very advantageous, in the minds of the Chinese, to Christianity and those who preached it. On the 22nd of March, his majesty left Nankin, to return, by the Imperial Canal, to Pekin, and "as our duty," says Father de Fontaney, "compelled us to attend him several days' journey, we accompanied his suite for about thirty leagues, after which we waited for him on the banks of a river. He perceived us, and ordered our boat to be towed by his junk for more than two leagues farther, treating us during this last visit with much familiarity, and then, ordering provisions from his own table to be put into our boat, he dismissed us loaded with honours."

Whilst the Fathers de Visdelou, Le Comte, and de Fontaney, were fulfilling with zeal and success the duties of their apostleship in the provinces of the empire, Gerbillon and Bouvet were busy at Pekin.

Since the death of Father Verbiest, Pereira and Thomas had to go every day to the palace, and preside at the tribunal of mathematics; so that the French missionaries had to attend to all the ministerial duties for the Christians in this great city; and the Emperor, who had conceived esteem for them before his journey to the south, requested them on his return to learn the Mantchoo language, that he might be better able to converse with them. He also gave them masters, and himself paid attention to their studies, questioning them and reading their compositions, in order to see what progress they were making in the language, which is easier to learn than the Chinese.

At this period Father Gerbillon was called to render the Emperor an important service, namely, that of negotiating between Russia and China the first treaty of peace that was ever signed by these two powers.

Great astonishment was excited in Europe when it was announced to them by the French Jesuits resident at Pekin, that the Muscovites and the Chinese had been at war, and that plenipotentiaries had just been sent to the frontiers of these two empires to treat of peace.

The knowledge of the political geography of remote countries was at that time so imperfect, that the people could not understand where the Chinese and Muscovite territories bordered on each other; it is not only in our own days that the progress of the Russians in Upper Asia has been in a great measure a secret to European statesmen, and the victorious march of the Czars was, both in the seventeenth century and in recent times *, first pointed out by Catholic missionaries.

* Catholic missionaries were the first who, about a year ago, spoke of the Russian settlements on the river Amoor.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, some Siberian hunters made their way across their formidable steppes to the country of the Muscovites, in the hope of selling them sable skins. These skins were much finer than any that had been seen before, and the hunters met with a most friendly reception, were kept for several days, regaled with brandy, loaded with presents, and invited to come again. Some Muscovites also joined their party to hunt the marten sable and explore the country, when they found neither village nor settled habitation, but merely wandering hordes, who moved about from one region to another, as they were induced by the abundance of pasture for their numerous flocks and herds. Game was most abundant, and the Muscovites brought back a considerable quantity of sables as a valuable token from the country they had traversed.

Boris, the brother-in-law of the Czar Theodore, had, in 1598, just been raised to the throne by the unanimous consent of all the Muscovite states. This prince had enlarged views, and understood all the advantages that might be afforded by keeping up constant relations with the Siberians; and he sent ambassadors to invite them to enter into an alliance with the Muscovites. The ambassadors, who were very well received, brought back with them, according to the order of the Czar, several chiefs of Siberian tribes; and the wild hunters, who had known no society but that of the beasts of the forest, were astonished at the grandeur and beauty of Moscow, the magnificence of the Imperial court, and the manifestations of friendship that everywhere met them. The Czar then taking advantage of the bewildered state of these children of the desert, surrounded

by so many wonderful novelties, proposed to them to acknowledge the Emperor of the Muscovites for their sovereign and master, and the proposal was received with gratitude by the poor Siberians, who, after having with great glee yielded the independence of their country to the Russians, returned to their frozen steppes to relate to their fellow-countrymen, what they thought, the delightful result of their journey.

As they brought back plenty of presents, the other hunters and shepherds rejoiced with them, and regarded it as a special piece of good fortune that they had been taken under the powerful protection of the Czar; and from that time Siberia was incorporated with the Russian Empire.

Russian policy lost no time in establishing on a firm basis the dominion that it had obtained with so much facility in these vast countries. Numerous caravans were soon traversing them in all directions, and planting tokens of the Russian possession of them on all the most favourable spots. No one opposed their march; for the Mongol tribes, whom they occasionally met, instead of being hostile to them, appeared extremely well satisfied to make their acquaintance, and be thus admitted to partake of the advantages of civilisation.

The bold pioneers of the Muscovites proceeded along the same line, keeping always to the east, except when they bore a little to the south, and in due time Russian forts and towns were built on the great rivers, and in the gorges of the mountains; and by moving continually on and on, the Russians at last reached the Yellow Sea, in the neighbourhood of the Mantchoo Tartars.

These were not quite so easy to deal with as the Mongols had been; they were greatly surprised to see

a race of men, entirely unknown to them, make their appearance, and anger succeeded to astonishment when they saw them constructing forts on their frontiers, and they began to consider the expediency of driving them back. The Muscovites not having, up to that time, met with any opposition, had quietly taken possession of a small island which abounded with the most beautiful sables in the world; and as soon as they discovered the disposition of the Mantchoo Tartars, they represented to them that this country having had hitherto no legitimate owner, appertained now to them in right of the first occupation.

The Mantchoos admitted neither their premises nor their conclusion, and a long contest took place which ended in a war.

The fortress that the Muscovites had built on the frontiers of Mantchuria was destroyed by Chinese troops, then rebuilt by the Muscovites, and then destroyed again. For a long time the strife continued upon this spot, and the place was taken and retaken over and over again, until both parties grew weary of a war that led to no result, distracted the attention of the Emperor of China from the government of his empire, and obliged the Czar of Muscovy to keep at great expense a considerable army in the farthest deserts of Siberia. The Muscovite government therefore took the initiative, and despatched an ambassador to Pekin, to inform the Emperor Khang-Hi, that plenipotentiaries would be at the Chinese frontier to negotiate for a termination of the war. The Emperor of China desired a peace no less than his antagonists, and their presence near his territories occasioned him much uneasiness, for he feared their influence might render the Mongols dissatisfied with the

Tartar domination in China. A favourable reception was therefore given at Pekin to the proposal of the Czars, (there were two at that time, John and Peter, reigning simultaneously,) and in the following year, namely, 1688, Khang-Hi sent his plenipotentiaries to Siberia to conclude a peace.

The Chinese embassy was organised with much magnificence and pomp; it consisted of five plenipotentiaries, of whom the two principal were the uncle of the Emperor and the Prince Sosan, who had always shown himself a zealous protector of Christianity and Christian missionaries. These were accompanied by fifty mandarins of the highest class, attended by a suite of no less than ten thousand persons, and an immense number of horses, camels, and artillery, so that the party resembled an army rather than an embassy.

The Fathers Pereira and Gerbillon were ordered by the Emperor to accompany them as interpreters, as he had noticed that the despatches addressed to him by the Muscovites were always translated into Latin; and he gave the missionaries some of his own dresses, and desired that they should take rank among the mandarins of the second order and dine at the table of the ambassadors, who were to take no step of importance without consulting them.

The Chinese caravan was four months on its way, proceeding through a country so rugged and difficult, that Father Gerbillon declares that what he had gone through in getting from France to Pekin was as nothing in the comparison with the hardships of this journey.

The ambassadors and the Jesuit interpreters made the journey by land; but the majority of the persons

of the expedition proceeded up the river Amoor*, which, flowing eight hundred leagues from west to east, and navigable along nearly its whole course, falls into the Yellow Sea, in latitude 46°, a little to the south of the most northern part of Japan.

The Chinese plenipotentiaries arrived at last at Nipchou, a little town of Siberia, where the conferences were to be held. The Muscovites were already at the place of meeting, and the two parties appeared at first amiably disposed. The representatives of the Czar proposed to take the river Amoor for the frontier of the two empires, so that all lying to the north of the line should belong to Russia; but the Chinese rejected this proposal, as they possessed tolerably populous districts and even towns to the north of this river, and the mountains of the vicinity were excellent for the chase of the marten sable.

They required that the Muscovites should retire as far as the river Selinga, and leave to China the town of that name, as well as Nipchou and Yacsia, with their dependencies. These discordant pretensions were maintained on both sides with so much energy, that symptoms of irritation were not long in manifesting themselves, and the misunderstanding at last proceeded so far that the plenipotentiaries separated, the troops entrenched themselves in their camps, and everything indicated that the parties would soon come to blows.

In this conjuncture, Father Gerbillon, seeing the war about to recommence with more fury than ever, told the Prince Sosan that if he would entrust him with the affair, he believed he should be able to bring the

* The Mantchoos call it *Saghalien-Oula*, or the "Black River;" the Chinese *Hé-Loang-Kiang*, or "River of the Black Dragon."

two parties together and induce them to conclude a peace.

The Chinese ambassadors, who had the greatest confidence in the ability of Father Gerbillon, accepted his offer; and the French missionary went alone to the camp of the Muscovites. He remained there some days, and displayed so much talent for persuasion, as to induce the representatives of the Czar to abandon some of their pretensions, and consider only the true interest of their nation.

"To what purpose is it," said he, "to persist in endless disputes about a few small portions of the desert, whilst you lose the opportunity of establishing a commerce with China, which might be more advantageous than any other in the world, and bring into your empire the abundance and the treasures of the whole East? Peace is also necessary to you," he added, "to secure your great recent conquests in Siberia; for it would not be easy for you to retain them, at so vast a distance, and protect them against an invasion by the whole force of the Chinese Empire."

These reasons made much impression on the Muscovites, who accepted the conditions proposed to them, and Father Gerbillon had the happiness of seeing the ambassadors of the two nations meet in the little church of Nipchou to sign the treaty of peace. Of this treaty four copies were made: one in the Tartar language for China, the other in Muscovite for Russia, and two in Latin, which alone were sealed with the official seals of the two nations.

The respective ambassadors having stretched out their hands over their copies, swore, in the name of their master, to observe the treaty faithfully, and called

God to witness the sincerity of their intentions. As the Chinese commissioners had received orders to swear by the God of Christians to observe the peace, under the idea that nothing would be more likely to induce the Muscovites to observe it inviolably, they composed this formula for the oath taken on the occasion.

"The war that has raged between the inhabitants of the frontiers of the two empires, and the combats which have taken place with much effusion of blood and disturbance to the repose of the two nations, being quite contrary to the will of Heaven, which is friendly to public tranquillity, we, the great ambassadors of the two empires, have been sent to determine the boundaries of the two states and establish a solid and eternal peace between the two nations; and this we have happily effected in the conferences held in the 28th year of the reign of Khang-Hi, near to the town of Nipchou. After having marked very distinctly, and put into writing, the names of the places and countries where the two empires touch one another, established boundaries between them, and regulated the manner in which henceforth any affairs that may arise are to be treated, we have reciprocally exchanged an authentic writing, in which is contained the treaty of peace, which we have agreed to have engraved, with all its articles, upon stones which shall be placed on the limits of the two empires, in order that all who pass that way may be fully acquainted with it, and that this peace with its conditions may be kept inviolable for ever.

"And if any shall only entertain in secret the thought or design of transgressing these articles of peace, or if, failing of his word and plighted faith, he should, for the sake of any private interest, even form the project

of exciting troubles, and rekindling the flames of war, we pray the Sovereign Lord of all things, who knows the depths of our hearts, not to permit such people to live to a mature age, but to punish them by a premature death."*

The Chinese commissioners had proposed, in a spirit of condescension, or rather because of their profound indifference in all matters of religion, to read this formula, on their knees, before an image of the God of the Christians, and adore the image by prostrating themselves in their own fashion; but it was afterwards decided that every one should swear in the manner of his nation. The ambassadors then gave each other the kiss of peace to the sound of musical instruments, and they all assembled at a banquet, at which they congratulated each other on the amicable treaty just concluded between the two powers.

The principal person of the Chinese embassy, the Prince Sosan, proclaimed aloud that the success of this difficult negotiation was owing to the missionaries. He several times thanked Father Gerbillon for having relieved him from great embarrassment, and declared that in all circumstances he might always consider him as a friend. "Prince," replied the French missionary, "you know the motives that have induced us to leave all that is dear to us in Europe to come to this country. Our only desire is to make known the true God, and have his holy law observed. But we have been greatly distressed to find that the most recent edicts forbid the Chinese to embrace it.† We implore you, therefore,

* Maillu, "Histoire Générale de la Chine," vol. iv. p. 131.

† The Emperor Khang-Hi, when he recalled the missionaries, and permitted them to establish themselves in the provinces, forbade the Chinese to adopt Christianity.

since you are so kindly disposed towards us, to get this prohibition removed as soon as possible. We shall be more deeply gratified for this favour than if you were to heap upon us honours and riches; for the conversion of souls is the only good to which we attach any value."

The Prince Sosan was touched by this reply, and promised Father Gerbillon to serve the missionaries effectually; and the opportunity for fulfilling his promise was not long wanting.

The Emperor Khang-Hi, who had been taking lessons from Father Verbiest for several years, now continued his studies of European science under the direction of the Jesuits, devoting particular assiduity to arithmetic, theoretical and practical geometry, and philosophy; and the Fathers Gerbillon and Bauvet received orders to compose treatises on these subjects.

They wrote in the Mantchoo Tartar; and the literary men who had been appointed by the Emperor to teach them that language revised and corrected their compositions. The missionaries then presented them to the Emperor, who had great quickness of apprehension, and admiring more and more the European methods of scientific inquiry, devoted himself to it with renewed ardour.

The Fathers Gerbillon and Bauvet went every day to the palace, and passed two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening with the Emperor, who usually invited them to mount on the estrade, or dais, on which he was seated, and take their places by his side, that they might explain the diagrams with more facility. Even when he left Pekin for his Palace of Eternal Spring, about six miles from the city, he would

not have his studies interrupted, and the missionaries were obliged to go there every day, in all weathers, often setting off from Pekin at four in the morning, and not returning till nightfall, and being frequently obliged to devote part of the night to preparing the lessons for the next day. Sometimes they were almost worn out by these fatigues, but the wish to please the Emperor in order to render him favourable to the Christian religion, supported them and softened all troubles.

For four or five years the monarch continued to prosecute his studies with the same assiduity, and the great dignitaries of the empire, of course, did not fail to testify their admiration for his acquirements. Khang-Hi accepted their applause, but had generosity enough to attribute most of the merit to the missionaries, and to the sciences of Europe which they taught; and whilst the Imperial pupil and his teachers were on these amicable and familiar terms, a persecution arose against the Christians which gave the missionaries an opportunity for turning the Emperor's favour to account.

The Gospel had made considerable progress in the province of Tché-Kiang, which, as early as the thirteenth century, in the time of John de Monte Corvino, and again in the sixteenth, under Matthew Ricci, had shown the most eager desire to receive the faith. We have already seen how Dr. Paul, the Grand Colao of the empire, founded a fervent Christian community in the bosom of his own family, and exercised the happiest influence throughout the province. The number of proselytes went on increasing; chapels sprung up in all directions, and the mission of Han-Tcheou-Fou, the

capital of the province, came to be considered as the most flourishing of the whole empire.

Unfortunately the viceroy of Tché-Kiang was the implacable enemy of Christianity and Christian missionaries, and being in close alliance with the famous Yang-Kouang-Sien, that malignant persecutor of Father Schall, seemed to have been infected by him with hatred of the religion of the Europeans. The favour that the Jesuits enjoyed at the court of Pekin hindered him from declaring himself openly; but he nourished in secret the most sinister designs, and only waited for an opportunity of putting them into execution without compromising himself. It was necessary for a subaltern mandarin to take the initiative, and this happened in 1691.

Father Alcala, a Spanish Dominican, one of the most zealous missionaries of China, had been for a long time exercising his apostolic functions in a town of the third class, which was a dependency of Han-Tcheou-Fou, but the house that he occupied, and which also served as a church, was merely rented, and, as the proprietor could consequently drive him out of it whenever he liked, Father Alcala thought it prudent to seek for a more permanent home elsewhere.

He chose for his residence Kin-Tcheou, a town of the first class, hoping to increase the number of converts from amongst this more numerous population. He bought here a house of considerable size, which he had fitted up as a home for missionaries and catechists, as well as for a place of meeting for religious exercises. His former landlord, however, misled by the agents of the viceroy, threw a thousand obstacles in his way, and at last commenced a law-suit against him in the hope

that the house would be confiscated and sold, and that he might make a great profit by buying it under its real value. Tricks of this kind are common enough in China, and considered quite in the ordinary way of business.

Father Alcala was accused of having endeavoured fraudulently to possess himself of property in the Celestial Empire, as well as of giving himself up to practices condemned by the laws.

The mandarins maliciously magnified the importance of this affair; it was carried before all the tribunals of the province, and ultimately before that of the viceroy, who, as we have said, had long been watching for an opportunity of gratifying his hatred of the Christians, —an opportunity which he saw this law-suit would afford him.

Father Alcala had stated, in the course of his examinations, that during the persecutions of Yang-Kouang-Sien he had been exiled to Canton with Father Intorcetta, and this afforded quite pretext enough for the viceroy to put himself in a passion. The names of his old friend Yang-Kouang-Sien and of Father Intorcetta, then superior of the mission of Han-Tcheou-Fou, were like signals for the hostilities he had been long meditating.

He gave orders accordingly for the arrest of Father Intorcetta, and composed a pamphlet full of blasphemies against the Christian religion, which he had written out in large characters, and placarded on the doors of the church and in all the most public places of Han-Tcheou-Fou, as well as in more than sixty-two towns of the province of Tché-Kiang. We will give a translation

from this production as a curious specimen of the manifestoes of the mandarins against Christianity:—

"We, Tchang, Viceroy, Member of the Tribunal of Inquiry, publish this edict in order severely to prohibit Europeans from seducing the people by distributing papers among them, and the men of the Central Kingdom from following their religion in contempt of the edicts already promulgated; we hope that this prohibition may serve to maintain the vigour of the laws, and bring back the minds of the people into the right way.

"We know that there is no law that contains the true maxims of the perfection of government and of private individuals with the same details and to the same extent as the doctrine of our philosophers. These maxims, when they relate to the regulation of families, consist in obedience to parents, and respect for the aged; when they relate to government, they consist in being faithful to the prince and loving the people. This doctrine recognises for its masters Tcheou-Koun* and Confucius. Good conduct, love of your neighbour, virtue, and justice are the bases of it. Civilisation, or the observation of the duties of life, union and concord, of which music is the symbol, and the civil and criminal laws, are the means which it employs. This doctrine, which is perfectly true, is in the world, what the sun, the moon, and the stars are in the heavens which they illumine; what the rivers and brooks are in the earth that they water. The sect of the Brahmins of India and that of the Bonzes, are, in comparison, only like the light of a torch of reeds, or like the water in the footstep of an ox. . . . What idea, then, can we have of other sects?

* One of the most ancient philosophers of China.

"The Son of Heaven professes great esteem for the true doctrine, and honours our philosophers above all others. He has himself laboured at the commentaries of five canonical and four classical books, and has diffused them over the whole universe, in order to make manifest the advantage of having throughout the empire but one learned language. This ought to induce the nations, that have the happiness to live under the reign of a saint, to follow in all things the doctrine of holy men, and to apply themselves to the study of the books which Confucius and Mong-Tze* have left us. Labourers, artisans, and traders ought, according to them, to devote themselves with all possible assiduity to the duties of their profession, in order to place themselves in a position to live in abundance.

"If their occupations leave them any leisure, they have the sixteen articles of Imperial instructions†, with which they can entertain themselves, and which they can explain and hold conferences about with one another, in order to encourage each other to good, and repress the natural inclination men have for evil.

"It is upon this that they must establish the foundations of their perfection, of which the fruit must be to await with firmness and immovable constancy whatever Heaven shall ordain.

"Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the province of Tché-Kiang, rude and ignorant men, far from applying their minds to these duties, are going in troops to

* This philosopher was a contemporary of Confucius, and is regarded as the second sage of China.

† These instructions concerning the duties of magistrates and nations, were composed by order of the Emperor Khang-Hi.

embrace the law of the Lord of Heaven. This law proceeds originally from the barbarians of the Western Seas, who entered the Flowery Kingdom towards the end of the dynasty of Ming (1581). Under the present one, the reigning Emperor has issued an edict which contains this clause: —

"'With the exception of Nan-Hoai-Jen and his companions, to whom it is permitted to practise their religion as they did before, lest at court or in the provinces new churches should be built and new Christians made, I order that this shall be severely prohibited, and that the people shall be warned of this prohibition.' This clause was published in the ninth year of Khang-Hi.

"Subsequently, the Court of Rites presented a new memorial which was followed by this edict (July, 1670): —

"'If among the European missionaries there are any who are acquainted with astronomy, I order that they shall be brought to my court to reside with Ferdinand Verbiest and his companions. I permit those who are not to return to their churches, and as religious men, to perform in private the exercises of their religion. But we do not permit any of our subjects, of whatever rank they may be, either at court or in the provinces, to embrace the law; and I order at the same time the observance of the preceding edict, which contains the same prohibition.' I do not know at what time the European Intorcetta abandoned his former church in the province of Kiang-Si to come and establish himself in that of Tché-Kiang. If he calls himself a religious man, he ought to observe religiously the laws of the empire, close his doors, and receive no visit.

Why, then, did he print the book entitled 'Explanation of the Law of God,' and that which bears the title of 'Seven Victories?' * Why does he have images of God painted, obliging people to come and worship them on certain days, and to keep fasts? Why does he distribute papers among the partisans of his law in the capital, and at Lang-Ki, Hai-Ning, Lin-Ngan, Té-Tsing, and the other towns of the province? More than a thousand families of foolish and ignorant people have embraced this law, and they are all guilty of having violated the prohibitions that have been issued, and of having acted against the edicts. It is proper to instruct them on this point, and to forbid them once more to do so. With this view, we desire all, persons of rank as well as common people, to meditate and comprehend what follows: —

"Oh men of the Central Nation, you are abandoning the true way, which has been shown you by the saints and sages of antiquity, to follow the devious paths of the Western countries! This is a gross error: you are violating the edicts of the Emperor to enter the religion of the barbarians; it is a fault of conduct that is considerable! You would deserve to be chastised according to the rigour of the law; but we make this reflection: you are rude and ignorant people, who have allowed yourselves thus to be seduced by strangers, and have foolishly joined a pernicious sect. I will, therefore, pardon you what is past, and leave you the means of

* Father Intorcetta had had a reprint made of the books composed by Father Aleni and Father Pantoja, a Spanish Jesuit. The last, entitled *Tsi-ke*, or the "Seven Victories," is considered as a *chef d'œuvre* of Chinese literature. We have ourselves heard them highly praised by the literati.

correcting yourselves; but you must see that henceforth you respectfully obey the laws, and take good care not to join this false sect from Europe.

"But if, persisting in your blindness, you fail to quit immediately this religion, or that any one, whether man or woman, should neglect his or her proper occupation and business to keep its observance*, I order the officers, whom such things concern, to inquire into it immediately, and make their report. They will seize on the person of Intorcetta and others, who, contrary to the edicts, shall preach this religion; they will chastise with all the rigour of the law those who shall have allowed themselves to be seduced. The neighbours and friends who shall conceal them, protect them, or help them, shall all be considered guilty of the same crime, and to no one shall pardon be extended. This proclamation shall be made known to the public." (1691.)

This violent manifesto of the viceroy of Han-Tcheou-Fou was the signal for the persecution. All the mandarins of the province desired to signalise themselves and pay their court to the viceroy at the expense of the Christians, and each hastened to fabricate after his own fashion placards injurious to religion, which soon became objects of mockery to the multitude.

The prefect of Han-Tcheou-Fou gave orders to his satellites to arrest Father Intorcetta and carry him before his tribunal; and this was not the first time that the zealous missionary had been called on to defend the interests of the Christian religion in the courts of China. In the persecution of Yang-Kouang-Sien he had already had the happiness of being loaded with chains and suffering long exile and imprisonment for the faith.

* Alluding to the keeping of Sundays and holidays.

Father Intorcetta, a Sicilian by birth, was a venerable old man, of above sixty-five years of age, who had grown grey in apostolic labours. Although he was not above the middle height, his age, and a certain expression on his face, gave him a majestic aspect that excited the respect even of the infidels, while his gentle and engaging manners attracted the confidence and friendship of all who approached him. He had much vivacity of mind, united to consummate wisdom and prudence, and the rare virtue, ardent zeal, and heroic courage, which rendered him capable of suffering and daring all things for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls, entitle him to be regarded as an extraordinary man.*

The prefect of Han-Tcheou-Fou was a sagacious and prudent mandarin, who did not share the hatred of the viceroy against the missionaries, and he treated Father Intorcetta with much respect, and rose when he entered the court.

The venerable confessor of the faith replied with admirable presence of mind to all the interrogations addressed to him, stating that he had entered China with Father Verbiest, who first established himself in the province of Kiang-Si; that subsequently he had come to take charge of the mission of Han-Tcheou-Fou. It was true that he had done this without an order from the government, and without the permission of the magistrates, but that, since his settlement at Tché-Kiang, he had been to pay visits to all the viceroys who had governed the province; that several of these had done him the honour of returning his visits in person,

* Le Gobien, "Histoire de l'édit de l'Empereur de Chine en faveur de la religion Chrétienne."

and others through letters of ceremony, all which facts were of public notoriety.

"You yourself," he said to his judge, "were a witness of what took place a few years ago," (in 1688) "when the Emperor visited these provinces, and enjoyed in the spring the pleasures of the beautiful waters which bathe the walls of this city. Do you not recollect that this prince sent presents to my church by mandarins of high rank at the court, who also, according to the orders they had received, then worshipped the true God?—that the Emperor also condescended to send me dishes from his table, and that I had the honour of being admitted three times to his presence? Perhaps you may not be aware of all these things, but here is a memorial that will instruct you concerning them."

He then presented a narrative of all that had taken place at the time alluded to, and which he had had printed according to the Chinese custom.

The Emperor had in fact shown a great deal of kindness to Father Intorcetta; he had inquired about his place of abode, the state of his mission, the number of Christians belonging to it, and all those things which the viceroy now wished to impute to him as offences; and after having heard his answers, he had said to him, with much affability, "Good old man, remain here in peace."

These details made much impression on the prefect of Han-Tcheou-Fou, who did not think he had any right to drive out a man to whom the Emperor had said, "Remain in peace:" but continuing the examination, he asked, "Did not the Emperor give you orders

to burn immediately the images exhibited in your churches? Why did you not obey him?"

"The images of God and of his saints are not things that it is allowable to burn. If you wish to burn them you must begin by burning me."

"Where have you put the blocks of the books that you have had printed?"

"They are at present in my church; they were engraved under the dynasty of Ming, in the time of the Emperor Wang-Lié; these books are for my own use, and contain nothing that could seduce or deceive the people."

"Have you any order from the court for the distribution of these books?"

"I have none which permits it, but neither have I any that forbids it."

"Now that these books have been prohibited by the viceroy, what means will you take to prevent the circulation of them?"

"These books are God's books, not mine; how, then, can I hinder their circulation?"

The prefect of Han-Tcheou-Fou, who had no dislike to the Christians, sent to the viceroy a favourable opinion concerning the case of Father Intorcetta, of which the following is a literal translation: —

"I find that the images that are exhibited in the church are objects of worship to Intorcetta, the means of his improvement, and the motives of his hopes and joys. It seems to me, therefore, that we may postpone the burning of them. As for the blocks of the books, they were engraved under the reign of Wang-Lié; they are indeed in the church, but there has not yet come from the court any command or prohibition con-

cerning them. Intorcetta has not made use of them to seduce the people; they are, it is true, written in Chinese, and in a manner to please and excite curiosity, but there is little in them to occasion error; and if the officers of each district forbid henceforward the sale of these books, under severe penalties, not permitting any one either to read or explain them, they will be, in fact, as if they were not. It will not, therefore, be necessary to ask Intorcetta how the sale of them is to be prevented. I await with profound respect your Excellency's decision concerning this matter."

This opinion only served to irritate the viceroy of Tché-Kiang; he declared that the affair had not been properly considered, and he consequently referred it to some inferior mandarins, who received orders to send for Father Intorcetta to their tribunals, to annoy him in every possible way, and not to leave him a moment in peace.

The intrepid missionary fell dangerously ill, and might thus have escaped appearing before his judges, but he feared to lose so excellent an opportunity for confessing boldly the name of Jesus Christ. Instead of shrinking from their glorious contest, he had himself carried, ill as he was, before his judges, who could not help admiring his courage and the sublimity of his faith; but these harassing proceedings were repeated over and over again, and the confessor carried from tribunal to tribunal, without the hatred of the viceroy being appeased, or Intorcetta's patience and resignation overcome.

Father Intorcetta had foreseen from the beginning that this persecution would be long and violent, and he had written to the missionaries of Pekin, in the hope

that they would employ the favour and credit they enjoyed with the Emperor to arrest the fury of the viceroy. Just at that period it happened that the Emperor was hunting in Tartary; but Father Gerbillon had no sooner learned the dangers which threatened the missions of China than he devoted himself with ardour to the means of overcoming them; and not thinking it prudent to appeal as yet to the Emperor, he communicated his grief and anxiety to his friend Prince Sosan, who, at the conclusion of the treaty of peace with the Russians, had so energetically promised him his protection.

Prince Sosan was a man as much distinguished for his personal merit as for his birth and the high offices that he filled. A near relation of the Emperor, and the uncle of the Empress, he had exercised for ten years the office of First Colao of the empire, and his brilliant talents, high reputation, solid judgment, and consummate wisdom, had gained the entire confidence of the sovereign, who consulted him in all business of importance, and regarded him as the first man in his council.

The qualities of his heart, however, were even more excellent than those of his intellect; he was naturally upright, sincere, equitable, faithful, generous, and a constant and devoted friend; and as there were many points of similarity between his character and that of Father Gerbillon, they became, during the journey they made together in Siberia to negotiate the peace with Russia, united by the ties of intimate friendship.

Prince Sosan quite took to heart the business brought under his notice with so much anxiety by Father Gerbillon; and as soon as he returned to Pekin, he

hastened to write to the viceroy of Tché-Kiang, to recall him to sentiments of justice and moderation.

"We live," he said, "in a time that demands much discretion and mildness; the Emperor never lets slip any opportunity of favouring the doctors of the Christian law. How, then, can you hope to please him by persecuting them? Believe me, the example of the sovereign ought to make more impression on your mind than all the decisions of the tribunals. The ancient edicts which the court itself no longer desires to follow, ought not to be now the rule of our conduct.

"If you favour the missionaries, depend on it the Emperor will approve your conduct; and if I may venture to add anything to such a motive, be assured that I shall be sensible to all the good offices that you may show them at my recommendation."

When he sent this letter to the province of Tché-Kiang, Prince Sosan took care to enclose in it those which the Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet wrote to the superior of the mission of Han-Tcheou-Fou. He had hoped by this means to have furnished the viceroy with a good opportunity for seeing Intorcetta, becoming reconciled to him, and perhaps making amends for the wrong he had done the missions. But this man was too proud and violent not to persist in the course on which he had once entered, and though he owed all his fortune to Prince Sosan, who was his patron, he could not resolve to satisfy him on this point. He contented himself with leaving Father Intorcetta without further molestation, and turning all his fury against the Christians, he carried ravage and desolation through all the missions of the province, fulminating unmerciful edicts against

all who should profess Christianity, and giving orders to the mandarins to seize on the churches, convert them into pagodas, and install the bonzes in them.

The flames of persecution now spread in all directions, and the servants of God, hunted like wild beasts, were obliged to fly to the mountains, after having buried their books of prayer and their holy images to guard them from the profanations of idolaters. Amidst the trouble and confusion that reigned throughout the little communities, one man was remarked, a physician, named Tchin-Ta-Seng, whose ardent faith revived the courage of the rest. He was seen running from house to house, with a cross in his hand, exhorting his brethren to remain firm and to do nothing unworthy the glorious name of Christian which they had the honour to bear.

The mandarins, indignant at the daring zeal of this valiant Christian, had him seized, loaded with chains, and brought before their tribunal. He had just been condemned to be scourged, and the executioners were preparing to inflict this cruel punishment, when a young man broke through the crowd, and, rushing forward, prostrated himself at the feet of the judge. The young neophyte had been held at the baptismal font by the physician who was about to be lacerated with rods; and he implored the mandarin with tears to permit him to receive the chastisement intended for his godfather.

"What! my son," cried the intrepid Tchin-Ta-Seng, "you would snatch from me the crown which the Lord presents to me? God forbid that I should yield you my place! I am but too happy to have been found

worthy to suffer something for my Divine Master, for Him who was willing to be beaten and bruised for me."

Then there followed, between the godfather and godson, one of those generous contests which might delight the very angels in heaven, and on earth must soften the hardest hearts. The audience was melted to tears, and the judge, somewhat disconcerted, said to the prisoner: —

"Go; I pardon you! This eagerness to suffer the punishment of your faults merits some indulgence; but take care that henceforward you obey the orders of the viceroy."

Tchin-Ta-Seng, who had had a sort of foretaste of the joys of martyrdom, took good care not to listen to the treacherous counsel of the mandarin, and having sought to obey God rather than man, he was arrested again the very next day, and delivered to the executioners, who flagellated him, and loaded him with a heavy cangue.

The generous godson rushed to the place of execution, hoping to be permitted to suffer in his place, but he was too late; he only met the confessor of Christ when, all bleeding from the blows he had received, he was getting himself taken to the church that he might return thanks to God. Joy was beaming in his face, and he said to those who wished to console him, "Do not pity me; or pity me only because I have not had the happiness of giving my life too, and shedding all my blood, for my Saviour."

When, supported by the arms of several of the Christians, he had at length reached the church, he prostrated himself at the foot of the altar and offered this beautiful prayer: —

"O Lord, you are witness this day that I prefer your holy law to all the pleasures of life; I do not appeal to your justice for the blood that your enemies have shed; I come to offer you what is left. I do not deserve to die for such a cause; but you, O Lord, may claim the sacrifice of my whole life."

This heroic conduct made such an impression on the minds of the Chinese, that many of them resolved on the spot to embrace the Christian religion, being persuaded that what they had seen and admired could not be the result of error. Amongst those who were converted were three young Bachelors, who appeared filled with that faith which in the primitive church made almost as many martyrs as Christians. They were young, rich, distinguished in the world, and pledged, by their admission into the class of men of letters, to hold the opinions and sentiments of the mandarins. Nevertheless, esteeming the interests of the present life as nothing, they publicly demanded baptism. Father Intorcetta, wishing to try the faith of these fervent catechumens, concealed nothing from them which might tend to shake it; he represented to them the rigour of the edicts, the indignation that would be excited among the mandarins, the probable distress of their families, the danger of losing their fortunes, their titles, perhaps even their lives; but all these considerations seemed only to confirm them in their resolution. They were baptized, and set themselves to bear courageously, like others, the cross of Christ. These striking conversions fortified the weak and consoled the missionaries for the evils which the persecution had already inflicted on the missions.

Whilst the mission of the province of Tché-Kiang

was thus alternately afflicted and rejoiced by these various occurrences, the persecuting viceroy received from Pekin a despatch which contained two letters from the Prince Sosan, one for Father Intorcetta, the other addressed to himself, and full of reproaches for his having paid so little attention to the prince's recommendation. "I should never have imagined," he said, "that to please evil-disposed persons, who have irritated your mind against the Christians, you would have neglected the counsel I gave you.

"As your friend, I endeavoured to inspire you with better sentiments. Think of it once more, and reflect that it is I who speak to you.

"There are three things that I expect from you; first, that you will yourself present to Intorcetta the letter that I have written to him; secondly, that you will treat that missionary in a friendly manner, so that he may have cause to be thankful for the good offices that you render him, and may himself bear witness of them to me; and, thirdly, that henceforth you will not trouble either the missionaries or the Christians any more. Finally, I am grieved to have to write to you so often upon this matter. If you alter your conduct in the future, I shall write to you a third time to thank you; but if you go on as you have done, this is the last letter you will ever receive from me."

The viceroy was weak enough to suppose that he could not now draw back without compromising his honour; but as he feared the Prince Sosan, who was the most powerful and accredited minister of the empire, he determined to send one of his officers to Pekin to exculpate him.

Father Intorcetta, on his side, being privately in-

formed of the letters the viceroy had received, let the missionaries at the court know the little effect they had produced; and they being convinced that the propagation of the faith in China would be in great danger if some strong barrier were not immediately opposed to the persecutions which were beginning to spread through all the provinces, determined to go in a body and carry their complaints to the Emperor.

Before taking this bold step, they thought it prudent to consult Prince Sosan; and he approved of their plan, and assured them he would serve them to the utmost of his power, and that they might count on him as a faithful and devoted friend.

There were at that time in Pekin only four missionaries, the Fathers Pereira, Thomas, Gerbillon, and Bouvet, and they, after having implored the blessing of God on the important step which they were taking for his glory, betook themselves all together to the palace, to demand an audience of the Emperor, on the 21st of December, 1691. Khang-Hi, who thoroughly appreciated the services the Jesuits had rendered him, wished to do what would be agreeable to them. He did not order them into his presence, but he sent to them the grand mandarin Chao, whom he was in the habit of employing to make known his commands, that they might explain themselves to him more freely.

They related accordingly to the mandarins, simply and truly, all that had taken place at Han-Tcheou-Fou and in the province of Tché-Kiang, the violent hostility of the viceroy, and the persecution he had raised against the Christians; they placed in his hands all the documents relating to it, and they then threw them-

selves on their knees and implored the protection of the Emperor.

"We supplicate his Imperial Majesty," they said, "with tears in our eyes, to be pleased to deliver us from the continual insults and vexations occasioned to missionaries by the edicts which forbid the exercise of the Christian religion to the Chinese. As long as these prohibitions exist, and that it is made a crime for the subjects of the Emperor to be converted to Christianity, we have no choice but to retire from his dominions, since, as he knows, we have only quitted Europe, and our relations and friends, and renounced all worldly goods, and worldly hopes, in order to make Jesus Christ known to the extremities of the world. The Emperor does, indeed, overwhelm us with benefits and favours; his liberality surpasses infinitely the trifling services we have been able to render him; but being pledged by our profession not to seek after wealth, honour, or the glories of this world, we can only receive them inasmuch as they tend to establish the religion of the true God, and secure his ministers from oppression. The favour we would ask of the Emperor is, that he would revoke those edicts which occasion us so many tribulations; that he will permit the preachers of the Gospel to declare the law of God throughout the empire, and allow his subjects perfect liberty to embrace and follow it. If he will grant us this grace and favour, we shall think ourselves most amply repaid for the services we have rendered him, as well as for those which we still hope to render him with all the zeal and attachment of which we are capable."

The grand mandarin Chao, who was kindly disposed towards the missionaries, and interested in all that con-

cerned them, went immediately to repeat what they had said to the Emperor; but he did not seem much affected by it.

"Go and tell the European doctors," he replied, "that they need not be surprised if the Chinese sometimes give them trouble, since their Christian converts, counting too much on their protection, do many things which they ought not to do, and give frequent cause of complaint to the mandarins. They are not to flatter themselves that I am going to declare myself the protector of a strange law, and introduce into my empire a religion from the West; they are enlightened enough to understand my reasons without my explaining myself further.

"You may tell them, nevertheless, that I will, out of regard for them, give private orders that the persecution of Tché-Kiang shall be moderated. See whether they will be content with that."

The missionaries were surprised and confounded at this cold reply, and greatly embarrassed as to the course it would be best to take in so delicate a conjuncture. To refuse the offer of the Emperor would in all probability excite his anger; to accept it would be not to find a remedy for the evil, but only a more or less temporary palliation of it. The mandarins, relying on the existing laws, would not fail to recommence their insults and oppressions of the Christians, and then it would be necessary to be continually teasing the Emperor with complaints, which would be almost sure to alienate him entirely from them. After having well weighed these considerations, the missionaries replied to the mandarin Chao, in these terms: "We have no other support than the goodness of the Emperor. The persecution of Tché-

Kiang has become too public for it to be possible to repair the wrong it has done to our religion without public commands from him. So long as Christianity is proscribed by the laws, and his subjects forbidden to embrace it, we shall be continually insulted and persecuted, and at the mercy of all the mandarins of the empire."

The Emperor, offended at the freedom of these words, now sent to them some of his eunuchs, who behaved in the most insolent manner; and after having uttered many mocking jests upon their religion, accompanying them with shouts of laughter, they said that the Emperor was much astonished at their being so obstinate about this Christianity of theirs.

"Is it possible," he had exclaimed, "that intelligent men like them should be always busying themselves about a world that they have not come to yet, and count for nothing the one in which they are actually living? Let them take my word for it, everything has its proper time; let them make a better use of what Heaven has now placed in their hands, and put off till the future life what only concerns those who have quitted this one. As for me, I concern myself very little about the affairs of that other world, and I am not called on to decide lawsuits between invisible spirits."

The consternation of the missionaries at this blasphemy was so great, that even the eunuchs seemed to feel some compunction, and declared that in speaking thus they had but executed the Emperor's orders.

Khang-Hi, however, had perhaps only treated the missionaries thus to try their patience, for the next day he sent for them to the palace, and told them that he

would allow them to present to him a formal petition for the maintenance of their rights.

This proposal seemed to indicate a more friendly disposition in the Emperor, but it threw the missionaries into cruel perplexity. They saw that there would be great danger in presenting an official petition, for that would throw their cause into the hands of the Court of Rites, which had at all times declared itself energetically against the Christians, and in all probability it would revive all the old accusations against them, and re-awaken the hatred of the bonzes and the men of letters. On the other hand, would it be wise to trust solely to the personal protection of the Emperor, — a most precarious reliance, that might fail them at any moment, and which, as they had already experienced, would not suffice to prevent the persecutions of the provincial mandarins? They must certainly expect vehement opposition to their claims on the part of the Court of Rites; but if they could by any means obtain from it a public edict of toleration, their position and the prospects of Christianity would be at once secured. The Chinese of all ranks would be able thenceforward to receive baptism, and openly declare themselves disciples of Jesus Christ, without bringing themselves into collision with the laws of the empire.

These considerations induced the Jesuits of Pekin to venture on the experiment proposed to them, as there seemed little likelihood that the future would offer them a better chance of success. The missionaries were indeed just then very popular at the court, and enjoyed a high reputation among men of letters. The memory of the important services rendered to the State by Father Verbiest was still fresh, and Father Thomas was

occupying himself with indefatigable zeal in fulfilling his functions as President of the Tribunal of Mathematics. Father Pereira, a skilful mechanician, had long been at work upon some instruments and machines in which Khang-Hi was keenly interested, and Father Gerbillon was known to have lately concluded the treaty of peace between the Chinese and Muscovites, at a place nine hundred miles from Pekin, — for Prince Sosan had declared everywhere that without him the treaty would never have been concluded to the advantage of the empire; finally, the Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet had been for several years giving lessons in geometry and philosophy to the Emperor with so much success that they were sent for daily to the palace.

Trusting to the protection of Providence for the success of their undertaking, the missionaries therefore drew up their memorial, and without bringing any accusation against the viceroy of Tché-Kiang, or complaining of any one, they merely asked whether the fact of being a Christian was not considered sufficient ground for any one to be harassed and persecuted; and they declared that as the Christian religion taught nothing incompatible with reason or the laws of the State, but, on the contrary, the maxims of the purest morality and the practice of the sublimest virtue, it could not be just that while a great number of sects was tolerated in the empire, the law of the true God should be alone proscribed and persecuted. That if it should be considered that there was anything reprehensible in the doctrines they taught, they would hold themselves in readiness to reply to all objections that could be made to them.

The Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, who saw the Emperor every day, submitted this petition to him, and

begged him to examine it before it should be made public; and eight days passed without his making any remark concerning it. At length, one evening the mandarin Chao came to the Jesuits' College at Pekin, summoned the four Jesuits residing there, and told them that their memorial had not been drawn up in terms sufficiently energetic; that the reasons drawn from the excellence of Christianity were incapable of making any impression on minds long since prejudiced against the religion; and that they must adopt a very different style if they wanted to make any impression on the Chinese. His Majesty was, therefore, of opinion that they would do well to draw up another petition in the Mantchoo language, and that it should be more pressing, and better adapted to the taste of the nation.

A new paper was accordingly composed and sent privately to the Emperor, who took the trouble to correct it himself, and to make considerable modifications in it; he also sent word to the Jesuits that Fathers Pereira and Thomas only ought to sign it, since they alone, as President and Vice-president of the Tribunal of Mathematics, had the right of addressing themselves directly to the Emperor. If the other missionaries also affixed their signatures to it, the petition would have to be sent to the tribunal appointed to examine the petitions of private persons, and that this would necessarily involve a great deal of formality, and perhaps some embarrassment.

It will be seen by these details that the Emperors of China are not as despotic as is supposed, and that they do not govern their empire in a perfectly arbitrary manner. It is often difficult for them to oppose the will of the Supreme Courts, whose decisions alone have

the force of law. It is evident that Khang-Hi himself desired to be friendly to the Jesuits, to abolish the ancient edicts against the Christian religion, and to publish new ones, which might permit its free exercise throughout the empire; but we find this all-powerful monarch, instead of giving his orders and imposing his will on the nation, himself partly composing the petition that was to be addressed to him, and discussed by the Court of Rites; and taking the most minute precautions to avoid coming into collision with public opinion, and if possible to propitiate it. We shall soon see him obliged to give way before the opposition of the tribunals of Pekin, and only resolving to do what he had long wished to do, after having obtained the consent and approbation of the Supreme Courts.

According to the plan agreed on with the Emperor, the Fathers Pereira and Thomas went alone to the palace, where they presented, in all form, their petition to his Majesty, who received it with those of several other officers of the court; and, although the document is somewhat long, we will, on account of its interest and importance, give a translation of it. It was as follows:—

"We, your subjects, Pereira and Thomas, present with the most perfect and profound respect this petition to your Majesty, to inform you of an affair that deeply concerns us, and into which we implore your Majesty to make some inquiry.

"Your subject Intorcetta, who resides at Han-Tcheou-Fou, sent an express to us in the ninth moon of the present year, to inform us that the viceroy of Tché-Kiang had given orders to the mandarins of his province to overthrow the temples of the Christians, and burn the printing-blocks from which are printed the

books of our religion. Besides this, he has declared publicly that our doctrine is false and dangerous, and that consequently it ought not to be tolerated in the empire; and he has added many other things which are very prejudicial to us.

"At this news, seized with terror and penetrated with grief, we have recourse to your Majesty, the father and mother of the afflicted, to explain to you the pitiable state to which we are reduced; for without your protection it would be impossible for us to avoid the snares of our enemies, or parry the fatal blow with which we are menaced.

"What consoles us in appearing thus at the feet of your Majesty, is to observe with what wisdom you direct the movements of all parts of your empire, as if it were a body of which you were the soul; and with what impartiality you regulate the interests of every particular individual, without any exception, so that you could no longer feel at peace if you knew that a single one of your subjects was oppressed by injustice, or even deprived of the rank and the rewards that he might justly claim.

"We know that you love truth alone, and that you do not approve of lies; and it was for that reason that when you visited your provinces you bestowed a thousand marks of your regard on the missionaries whom you met with on your way, expressing to them the esteem you had for their law, and that you were glad that it should be established in your dominions. What we say here is public and well known throughout the empire.

"When, therefore, we see the viceroy of Han-Tcheou-Fou treating the Christian religion as false and dan-

gerous, when we learn that he is using all means to destroy it, how can we contain in ourselves our just grief and not complain to your Majesty of what we suffer? This is not the first time that we have been persecuted without reason. Formerly, Father Adam Schall, when overwhelmed by the extraordinary favours of your predecessor, made known to all the court that the rules of the celestial movements established by the ancient Chinese astronomers were erroneous, and he proposed others which agreed perfectly with the stars, and were approved and employed with success, so that the change restored order to the empire.

"But on the occasion of these abolished errors, what did not the father suffer subsequently from the calumnies of his enemies? Yang-Kouang-Sien, and those of his faction, accused him falsely of various crimes, and he died without being able to justify himself. Your Majesty put Father Verbiest in his place, and gave him the superintendence of astronomy. He employed more than twenty years in composing books for the public benefit upon astronomy, arithmetic, music, and philosophy. They are still in the palace, with several others which he had not time to finish.

"Since your Majesty is perfectly well informed of all these circumstances, we do not dare to fatigue you more by a long discourse; we only beg you to make this reflection. If, as we are accused of, we do preach a false and dangerous law, how can the conduct of the princes, who have honoured us with their esteem, be justified? Your Majesty yourself relied so much on our fidelity as to order Father Verbiest to cast cannon of a new kind, to put an end to a dangerous war. You have several times sent the Fathers Pereira and

Gerbillon to the extremity of Tartary on important business, yet your Majesty knows well that those who are governed by the principles of a false religion are not in the habit of serving their princes with fidelity; they always abandon themselves to their own passions, and seek only their private interest.

"We humbly pray your Majesty to consider that after the fatigues of a long voyage we arrived at your empire, not with the spirit of ambition and cupidity which guides men in general, but with an ardent desire to preach the only true religion.

"When we came here for the first time, we were received with every mark of distinction. In the tenth year of Chun-Tché we were made the directors of mathematics; in the fourteenth year of the same reign we were permitted to build a church at Pekin, and the Emperor was pleased to grant us a special piece of land for a burial-ground. In the twenty-seventh year of your own glorious reign, your Majesty honoured the memory of Father Verbiest, not only by new titles, but also by the care you took to have the last duties rendered to him with pomp and magnificence; a little while afterwards you assigned apartments to the new missionaries, and gave them masters to facilitate their study of the Tartar language; and, finally, you appeared so well satisfied with their conduct, that you had an account of the services they had rendered to the state in their journeys to Tartary, and their negotiations with the Muscovites, inserted in the archives. What happiness and glory is it for us to have been deemed worthy of serving so great an Emperor! Since, then, your Majesty, who governs so wisely this great empire, has deigned to treat us with so much confidence, how is it

possible that there should be found a single mandarin unreasonable enough to refuse our brother Intorcetta the permission to live in his province?

"Truly we cannot sufficiently deplore the fate of this good old man, who humbly asks a little corner of earth, — as much space as is needed for him to pass in tranquillity the rest of his days,—and yet cannot obtain it.

"It is for this reason that we, the humble subjects of your Majesty, who are here like forsaken orphans, who wish no harm to any one, who try to avoid even lawsuits, and the most trivial quarrels or disputes, for this reason supplicate you to take our cause in hand. Have some compassion on persons who have committed no crime; and if your Majesty finds that we are innocent, we pray you to make known by a public edict throughout the empire your judgment of our conduct and our doctrine. It is in hopes of this favour that we have ventured to present this petition. Nevertheless, all the missionaries will await with fear and submission whatever you are pleased to ordain.

"In the thirtieth year of the reign of Khang-Hi, the sixteenth day of the twelfth moon." (February 2, 1692.)

CHAP. V.

CEREMONIES OF THE NEW YEAR.—HOSTILITY OF THE COURT OF RITES TO THE CHRISTIANS. — CONTEST BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE COURT OF RITES.—THE PRINCE SOSAN PLEADS BEFORE THE COURT FOR THE CHRISTIANS. — IMPERIAL DECREE IN THEIR FAVOUR. — PROSPERITY OF THE MISSIONS. — ILLNESS OF THE EMPEROR. — QUACKERY OF A BONZE. — THE JESUITS CURE THE EMPEROR WITH QUININE. — PHYSICIANS OF CHINA. — THE EMPEROR GIVES THE MISSIONARIES A HOUSE WITHIN THE PRECINCTS OF HIS PALACE. — REVOLT OF A TARTAR CHIEF. — IMMENSE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR. — THE EMPEROR'S PRAYER TO HEAVEN. — DEPARTURE OF THE GRAND ARMY. — DEATH OF KALDAN. — QUESTION OF THE NATIVE CLERGY. — ERECTION OF A FRENCH CHURCH IN THE YELLOW CITY. — DESCRIPTION OF THIS FINE EDIFICE. — ASSOCIATION OF GOOD WORKS AMONG THE CHRISTIANS. — PAGAN BENEFICENCE AND CHRISTIAN CHARITY. — OVERFLOWING OF THE YELLOW RIVER. — THE EMPEROR CHARGES THE MISSIONARIES WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALMS.—ATLAS OF CHINA PREPARED BY THE JESUITS. — MISSIONS IN THE PROVINCES.

THERE is not in the Chinese empire any festival which is celebrated with more pomp and preparation than that of the new year, and although it has not any actual religious character, no one would dare to allow it to pass without notice, for fear that his neglect might expose him to some great misfortune during the ensuing year. Every one puts on his best clothes and goes to offer his congratulations and good wishes to his friends and relations; every one has to rejoice and take his part in the public amusements; all business is at a stand still; the merchants cease their negotiations, and the farmers

their labours in the fields; the tribunals are closed, and the empire from one end to another keeps holiday. These great vacations are called by the Chinese, the Closings of the Seals, and the little trunks in which the official seals are kept are, in fact, locked up in each tribunal with much ceremony. Every mandarin has a seal, the size, form and material of which is regulated by law according to the rank he occupies; and the exercise of his office is attached to the use of these seals, so that, although he may have been appointed by the Emperor, provided with his letters patent, and even officially received by the tribunal, of which he is the chief; he cannot perform any judicial act till the seals have been placed in his hands, nor can he be prevented from so doing as long as he retains the seals. All acts are null and void which are not thus officially sealed, and any officer who should despatch them without the observance of this formality, would be considered guilty of a crime and severely punished. These minute precautions are possibly necessary to secure the regularity of administration in this vast empire.

The Tribunal of Mathematics, which has to make the almanacks and find out the lucky and unlucky days, indicates a long time before the commencement of the new year, the day and hour on which it will be proper to close the seals, as well as to re-open them; and the space between the two ceremonies is usually about three weeks; the Court taking care to forward the decision of the Board of Mathematics on these points to the provinces in sufficient time for the closing to take place all over the empire at the same moment. It was on the sixth day of the twelfth moon when the missionaries presented their petition to the Emperor Khang-Hi, who

hastened to forward it to the Court of Rites, with orders to examine it, and make him a report on it, as soon as possible. The Li-Pou, however, had not time to do this before the closing of the seals, so that it was necessary to wait till after the festival of the new year.

The missionaries and their neophytes employed these days of delay in supplicating the protection of Heaven, and had public prayers in their churches; while in the interior of their houses, instead of abandoning themselves to the customary noisy revelry of the new year, the Chinese Christians piously met together to offer to God the sacrifice of tears and groans for their pagan countrymen. Day and night they implored him to give peace to this persecuted church, and to grant that every subject in the empire should have liberty to embrace the Gospel.

On the twelfth day of the first moon, the seals were re-opened throughout the empire, and all the tribunals resumed their functions. The Court of Rites assembled and commenced its deliberations with the affair of the missionaries' petition, which affair indeed embarrassed them much; they did not know what to say about it, and were sorely perplexed between their hatred of the Christians and their desire to please the Emperor. They hesitated a long time; but at last, hatred gained the victory over complaisance for the Court, and this supreme tribunal, always averse to Christianity, pronounced sentence in opposition to the will of the sovereign and the interests of the missionaries. After having recapitulated at great length all that was most harsh in the ancient edicts against Christianity, the court came to the conclusion that the case was already decided, and that the exercise of that religion could not be permitted.

The Emperor was so little satisfied with the answer of the Li-Pou, that he refused to sign it, and ordered that the petition should be examined a second time, — a sufficiently plain indication that he desired a favourable reply. The court, nevertheless, obstinately persisted in its first opinion, and Khang-Hi, seeing that he should gain nothing by referring to the tribunals, at last, though with regret, gave way, and signed the decree of the Court of Rites, which forbade the Chinese to embrace the religion of the Europeans. It will be admitted that a form of government which can thus successfully oppose the will of the sovereign is not terrifically despotic. It would not be difficult to find countries, even with democratic institutions, where the head of the state exercises his authority with much less scruple than the Emperor of China.

This decision was like a thunderbolt to the missionaries, and threw them into such grief and consternation, that the Emperor himself appeared to grieve for them, endeavoured to console them, and offered to send some of them into the provinces with such marks of honour, as should convince every one of the esteem in which he held them, and of his approbation of their law. But their affliction was too great to be consoled by caresses and idle words.

"We are," they said, to those who attempted it, "like men who have before their eyes the dead bodies of their fathers and mothers," — a mode of expression common among the Chinese, when they mean to indicate extreme affliction.

The Emperor, seeing that from day to day their sorrow rather increased than diminished, sent for the Prince Sosan to consult him as to what could be done

for them, and the zealous minister then remembered the word of honour which he had pledged to Father Gerbillon after the signing of the peace of Nipchou. After pronouncing a eulogium on the missionaries, he represented to the Emperor, that since their profession made them despise riches and worldly honour, the only reward for their services that could be offered them, was the liberty of preaching their law publicly throughout the empire.

"Yes," replied the Emperor, "I know that; but how is it possible to satisfy them, if the tribunals persist in disapproving of their law?"

"What," cried the Prince Sosan, "are not you their master? If you will give me the order, I will myself go to the mandarins and speak to them in such strong terms that there shall not be one of them who will refuse to adopt the sentiments of your majesty."

The Emperor Khang-Hi, not being able any longer to resist such pressing solicitation, immediately wrote to the Colaos, their Assessors, and all the members of the Li-Pou in these words: —

"The one-and-thirtieth year of the reign of Khang-Hi, second day of the second moon. Y-Sam, the minister of state, declares to you the will of the son of Heaven.

"The Europeans at my court have for a long time presided over mathematics and astronomy, and during the civil wars have rendered me essential services by casting cannon. Their prudence and their uncommon ability, united to much zeal and indefatigable industry, make it a duty for me to do them honour. Their law, also, is not seditious, nor at all tending to excite the people to revolt. It seems good to me, therefore, to

permit all people to embrace it who may desire to do so, freely to enter their churches, and publicly to make profession of the worship paid to the Sovereign Lord of Heaven.

"We desire, therefore, that all edicts that by the advice and counsel of our tribunals have been given against them, should be torn up and destroyed; and do you, ministers of state, and you, mandarins of the Supreme Court of Rites, assemble yourselves, examine this affair, and give me as soon as possible your opinion."

Prince Sosan was present at this meeting, as it had been agreed between him and the Emperor he should be; and, though not himself a Christian, he spoke in their favour in so animated and pathetic a manner, that he seemed rather to be defending a cause of his own, or of his country, than the interests of a foreign religion. Here is a faithful translation of his speech, taken from the official account: —

"You know with what zeal, industry, and fidelity, these Europeans have exerted themselves in the service of the Empire. Amongst us, men even of the highest rank, though interested in the peace and order of the empire, are generally more devoted to their own fortunes and their private glory than to the prosperity of the state; very few of them seek purely the public good. These strangers, on the contrary, free from all these private passions, love our country more than we love it ourselves, and voluntarily sacrifice their own repose for the tranquillity of our provinces.

"In the course of the late civil wars and of the contest with the Muscovites, we have found this by experience; for to whom do you suppose you are indebted for the

happy issue of that negotiation? Doubtless it would be to my interest to give myself the glory of it, since I was the First Plenipotentiary; but if I were unjust enough to claim this honour to the prejudice of these men, the chiefs of the enemy's troops, my own officers, my own army, would give me the lie.

"It was these Europeans, who, by their prudence and address, their wisdom and moderation, brought this important business to a fortunate conclusion. Without their counsels we should have been obliged to purchase with our blood the right which our enemies so obstinately refused to allow to the Emperor. What have we done to recompense so great a service? What can we do for men who ask neither offices, nor riches, nor honour? Certainly we should be inconsolable if it were not in our power to reward in any way, strangers who have so generously sacrificed themselves for us; and I believe you will thank me, when you have considered the matter, for having pointed out to you the only way in which you can show your gratitude.

"They have a law which is to them of more value than all the riches of the world; they worship a divinity who forms their only happiness and consolation. Permit them to enjoy freely this, the only good they possess, and if they please, to communicate it to our people. Although in that they will rather do us a favour than receive one, they are willing to accept it as a reward for their services, and to be thankful to us for it. The Lamas of Tartary, the Bonzes of China, are not disturbed in the exercise of their religion; the Mahometans even have erected at Han-Tcheou-Fou a mosque which rises above all our public edifices. No one has attempted to oppose any dykes to these torrents that have inundated

the Kingdom of Flowers; people have even approved in some measure of these useless and dangerous sects; and yet when the Europeans ask for leave to preach a law that contains only maxims of the purest virtue, not only do we reject them with contempt, but we even make a merit of condemning them; as if the laws which oblige us to close the empire against falsehood and superstition, prosecuted also the truth."

Whilst the Prince Sosan was proceeding in this strain, he was interrupted by several members of the assembly, who endeavoured to prove that though this sect might be little dangerous at present, there was fear of its becoming subsequently a source of serious disorders; that it would therefore be prudent to stifle in its birth this little monster of rebellion and discord, and that the law of these strangers was of a nature to excite suspicion.

"What suspicion?" cried Prince Sosan. "I have been Grand Colao of the empire ten years, and I have never had a complaint against these Christians. Believe me, it would be greatly to be desired that the whole nation should embrace their religion; for does it not command children to respect their parents, subjects to be faithful to their prince, servants to obey their masters? Does it not forbid men to kill, to defraud, to deprive their neighbour of his goods? Has it not a horror of perjury, calumny, and lying? Does it not enjoin simplicity of heart, integrity, modesty, and temperance? Examine, if you can, and penetrate into the heart of man; and if you find there a single vice that the Christian law does not prohibit, or a single virtue that it does not recommend, I will agree that you shall decide against it; but if it is all holy and conformable

to reason, why should you hesitate to give it your approval?"

Prince Sosan, perceiving he had made some impression on his audience, then took the Ten Commandments, and explained them with so much eloquence to the mandarins that they looked at one another, and could find no reply, and at last confessed that there appeared to be no danger in allowing this new law to be followed throughout the empire. An old Chinese, a member of the Court of Rites, then rose and declared that no hostility was felt towards the Europeans or their religion, and that, if it had been thought that the Chinese ought not to embrace it, it was only because, after all, it was a foreign religion and preached by foreigners, and that there was reason to fear that if the door were once opened, the greater part of the empire would, before long, be seeking to enter it.

"Would to Heaven," exclaimed Prince Sosan, "that the whole empire might enter it, and keep all these commandments! All crimes would then cease; there would be neither murder, nor robberies, nor adulteries, nor divisions in families, nor quarrels among individuals, nor injustice among the mandarins; we should no longer hear either of rebels or of thieves, we should live in innocence and peace, in a harmony that would render us the happiest nation in the world, as we are already the wisest and the most powerful."

These last words produced a great effect on the assembly, and all the members of the Court of Rites, the Chinese as well as the Tartars, agreed unanimously not only that the missionaries should have perfect liberty to preach the Gospel, but that the people should be free to embrace it; and they afterwards set to work to

draw up an edict to that effect, to be submitted to the Emperor.

Prince Sosan, delighted at his success, left the assembly to inform the Emperor of the good disposition of the Court of Rites, and assured him that the Chinese had renounced their prejudices; that he found them as docile as the Tartars, and that they only awaited his orders to pronounce the decision he wished. The Emperor smiled and said, "You have played the Chinese a trick that they will never forgive you; you must expect to bear the full weight of their hatred." "I shall not sink under it," replied the prince, "and if no one ever plays them a worse trick than that, they will not have much cause for complaint."

On the following day, the whole Court of Rites proceeded in form to the palace, and presented to the Emperor the decree they had drawn up. It was as follows:—

"Kou-pa-tai, subject of the Emperor, President of the Supreme Court of Rites, and of several other tribunals, presents to his Majesty this humble petition, with all the submission and respect his Assessors must always have for his commands, and especially when he does them the honour to ask their opinion on important affairs of state.

"We have seriously considered this question concerning the Europeans, who, attracted from the extremity of the world by the renown of your remarkable prudence and your other great qualities, have crossed the vast extent of seas which separates us from Europe. Since they have been living among us they have merited our esteem and gratitude, by the great services which they have rendered us in the civil and foreign wars, by

their diligence in composing useful and curious books, their integrity, and their sincere regard for the public welfare. Besides this, the Europeans are very quiet; they do not excite any disturbance in the provinces, they do no harm to any one, they commit no bad action, and their doctrine has nothing in common with that of the false and dangerous sects in the empire, nor has it any tendency to excite sedition.

"Since then we do not hinder either the Lamas of Tartary or the Bonzes of China from building temples, and offering in them incense to their gods, much less can we forbid these Europeans, who teach only good laws, from having also their own churches and preaching their religion publicly in them.

"We decide, therefore, that all temples dedicated to the Lord of Heaven, in whatever place they may be found, ought to be preserved, and that it may be permitted to all who wish to worship this God to enter these temples, offer him incense, and perform the ceremonies practised according to ancient custom by the Christians. Therefore let no one henceforth offer them any opposition.

"We nevertheless await the commands of the Emperor in this business, in order that we may communicate them to the governors and viceroys of Pekin as well as of other towns.

"Given in the thirty-first year of the reign of Khang-Hi, third day of the second moon." (March 22nd, 1692.)

The Emperor received this paper with extreme satisfaction, signed it immediately, and at once sent off to the missionaries a copy sealed with the great seal of the empire, that it might be "eternally preserved in the

archives of their House." Some days afterwards it was published throughout the empire, and the Supreme Court of Rites, in forwarding it to the principal mandarins, added, in the order for promulgation, the following words: —

"You then, viceroys of provinces, receive with profound respect this imperial edict. As soon as it comes into your hands read it attentively, consider it, and do not fail to execute it punctually, according to the examples we have ourselves given you. Moreover, have copies made of it, and distribute them through all the districts under your government, and do not fail to inform us of what you have done in this matter."

By this solemn and official act the Christian religion was at last actually established in the Chinese empire on the most firm and solid basis; and it would be impossible to describe the joy that burst forth in all the missions on the communication of this happy news; never, certainly, was joy more lively or more sincere. The neophytes ran in crowds to the churches to thank God for having heard their prayers, dried their tears, and granted them full liberty to serve him according to the dictates of their hearts. Afterwards they got up a grand public festival, in which the imperial edict, decorated with flowers and escorted by bands of musicians, was borne along with great pomp.

But the best result of this happy event was the influence that it exercised on the population. Great numbers of pagans, hitherto kept back by the terror of the law, now came to be instructed and to demand baptism. The most extraordinary conversions were made in all the provinces; the throng of catechumens was so great that the missionaries were hardly able to

enroll all these new soldiers of Jesus Christ; and the propagation of the faith went on with such rapidity, that one of the apostles of China wrote to Europe those animated words of hope, which, alas! have not yet been realised.

"Never before," said he, "was there such an opportunity for extending the kingdom of God! Never has this vast empire of China, where there are counted more than three hundred millions of souls, been so favourably disposed to receive the light of the Gospel.

"May it please Heaven," adds Father Gobien, "that we shall enjoy the happiness of seeing during our lifetime the rise of this new Church as numerous and as fervent as the old. May a new Constantine, as zealous as the first, become the son of this Church, at the same time that he is its protector and support. May Japan, Tartary, Tonquin, and all the neighbouring nations who are proud of imitating the Chinese, whom they regard as the wisest and most enlightened nation in the world, follow their example, so that Europe and Asia may be united in the same worship and adore the same God and Lord, who deserves to be praised from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, and who will be praised in all the tongues spoken over these two chief quarters of the world." *

After the fêtes of the new year, and as soon as the edict in favour of Christianity was published, the Emperor Khang-Hi resumed his favourite studies; and it may be imagined with what ardour and devotion he was assisted in his scientific labours by the Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, who were still attached to the

* Le Gobien, "Histoire de l'Édit de l'Empereur de la Chine."

household and went every day to the palace. A short time after the proclamation of religious liberty in China, Providence seemed to have furnished the missionaries with an opportunity for testifying their gratitude to the Emperor. In the fourth moon of this same year, Khang-Hi was attacked by a malignant fever of a very dangerous character. The physicians of the palace exhausted the resources of their art to effect the cure, but to no purpose; no one of the remedies they applied had any success. The Emperor then remembered that the Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet had extolled the virtue of a medicine called *quinquina*, recently imported from Europe, and to which he had himself given the name of *chin-yo*, or divine remedy. Finding that the Chinese physicians could afford him no help, he expressed a wish to try this "divine remedy" of the Europeans; but the doctors opposed his wish most resolutely, asserting that there would be great danger in trying an unknown medicine on the person of the Emperor. Three of the most celebrated Chinese doctors were of this opinion, but they added that it would be desirable to suspend the use of all medicines for a few days, in order to observe the course of nature, and ascertain more certainly the character of the disease. The Emperor took the opportunity, without the knowledge of his medical attendants, to try the European specific; in the evening of the same day he was free from fever, and the recovery then went on regularly.

Some time afterwards, however, he had again attacks of fever of the intermittent form, which occasioned him some uneasiness, and he was induced to have it proclaimed throughout the city, that if any one had any specific against fever, they were to come immediately to

the palace, and, at the same time, all persons attacked by fever might come to be cured; some of the high officers of the palace being appointed to receive the remedies and administer them to the sick.

Amongst the numbers who presented themselves with recipes declared to be infallible, came a certain bonze, whose singularities of behaviour much diverted the courtiers. He presented himself, however, with empty hands, and merely desired to be led to the deepest well in the palace. From thence he took a bucket of water, poured some of it with a solemn aspect into a porcelain vase, which he first placed on the ground, and then raising it with both hands towards the sun, piously made the offering of it. The charlatan then repeated the same ceremony with absurd gestures and contortions towards all the four quarters of the world, and after that, presenting the vase to the Emperor's officers, he assured them that no fever had power to resist the virtue of this mysterious fluid.

The spectators began to laugh, though they did, nevertheless, give the water to some of the fever patients; but since, as might be supposed, it did not appear to produce any very beneficial effect, the bonze was driven out of the palace as an impostor.

Among the rest, the French missionaries, De Fontaney and Bouvet, betook themselves to the palace with a sufficient quantity of quinquina, or Peruvian bark, and offered it to the four dignitaries charged to try the remedies, pointing out the manner in which it should be administered. The next day the experiment was made on several of the sick who were carefully kept in sight, and they were cured by the first dose. The mandarins reported the astonishing effect of this remedy to the

Emperor, who would have determined to take it immediately, but for the entreaties of the prince-heir apparent, who opposed it, and reproached the mandarins for having spoken in such terms of a remedy tried for the first time. The latter excused themselves by saying that the specific could do no harm, and was even salutary for persons in health. The prince thereupon ordered some wine to be brought, mixed with it himself some of the Peruvian bark, and gave a dose to each of the four mandarins, who immediately went home, and slept very quietly without experiencing the least inconvenience.

The Emperor had a very bad night, and having heard that the European medicine had done the four mandarins no sort of harm, no longer hesitated to take it himself, and the fever consequently disappeared. After using it for a few days he was perfectly restored, and Khang-Hi did not fail to recompense those who had brought him such an efficacious remedy; or to punish severely the three physicians who had proposed to leave him without any medicine at all, and allow nature to act unassisted. They were brought before the Tribunal of Crimes and condemned to death, but the Emperor commuted their punishment into exile in the frozen steppes of Tartary.

In China, as we have said elsewhere, every one who pleases may exercise the profession of medicine, the government not interfering with them in any way. It is supposed that the strong and ready interest men naturally take in their own health, affords a sufficient guarantee that they will only give their confidence to a physician who is worthy of it. Any one, therefore, who has read a few books of recipes, and learned the nomenclature of the drugs in use, may boldly undertake the art of healing (or killing) his fellow-creatures in China.

The profession of medicine is considered an excellent conduit, a waste pipe, to carry off all the superfluous literary bachelors, who cannot attain to the superior grades, or pretend to the mandarinate; and China is consequently swarming with doctors, even without counting the almost innumerable amateurs, for, as we have said elsewhere, almost every Chinese has a smattering of medical knowledge, and the smallest village boasts several professional practitioners.

The position of medical men is of course by no means as brilliant as it is in Europe, for besides that there cannot be much honour in practising a profession that is open to all the world, there is very little to be gained by it.

A Chinese doctor is never paid for his visits, and he can only hope for profit from his medicines, which he has to sell very cheap, and always on credit, so that of his nominal revenue he seldom realises more than a third. There is a custom, too, of not paying for medicines that do no good, and this it must be owned happens pretty often.

The worst case for the poor doctor, however, is when he is obliged to hide himself or make his escape, or should he fail in doing this, to endure fines, imprisonment, or the bamboo, in consequence of a patient dying whom he had promised to cure. The relations, in such a case, will begin a lawsuit against him, and if he has any regard for his life or his safety, his best plan is to vanish as fast as possible. The legislature appears to encourage these rather severe proceedings against the poor doctors, for we find in the "Penal Code of China" (section 297), that "when those persons who practise the arts of medicine or surgery without understanding them, shall

minister drugs or operate with a sharp or cutting instrument in a manner contrary to established rules, and by these means shall contribute to occasion the death of a sick person, the magistrates shall call other men skilled in those arts to examine the nature of the remedy administered, or of the wound made, and which shall have been followed by the death of the patient. Should it be acknowledged that they can only be accused of having committed an error without any intention of doing injury, the physician or surgeon may avoid the punishment of a homicide by paying the fine appointed for those who kill a person by accident, but he shall be obliged to quit the medical profession for ever." This last clause appears judicious enough, and might perhaps be advantageously adopted elsewhere than in China.

Although the Emperor Khang-Hi was certainly somewhat severe towards the French physicians who had not cured him, he showed great gratitude to the missionaries who had. He sent for them to the palace, and communicated by the mouth of one of his principal officers this gracious message, " The Emperor presents to you as a gift, the house in the Yellow City, that is, the first enclosure of the palace."

After listening to these words on their knees, according to the customary ceremonial of China, the missionaries rose and were conducted to the apartments of the Emperor to return thanks, although Khang-Hi was not present. The Father De Visdelou, Bouvet, Gerbillon, and De Fontaney, having placed themselves in a row between two files of mandarins standing in perfect

ence, made three genuflexions and nine low prostra-

tions, to express their gratitude to his imperial majesty. The next day they repeated the ceremony, but this time in the presence of the Emperor, who had the goodness to converse with them in the most obliging terms. Before dismissing them Khang-Hi had delivered to them the presents he intended for Louis XIV., and charged them to mention to the King of France the favour he had just shown them in assigning them a residence within the precincts of his palace. They took possession of this house on the 11th of July, 1693, but as it was not properly arranged for the abode of ecclesiastics, the Emperor gave orders that the alterations they considered necessary should be made.

Khang-Hi being now restored to his accustomed vigorous health, returned to his habitually active and laborious life. For some years the Kaldan, or chief, of some Mongol tribes, had refused to submit to the dynasty that had subjugated China, and had been endeavouring to excite to revolt the wandering hordes of Tartary, which, from the time of Dchinguiz-Khan had carried terror and death over Asia. Already he had persuaded the Khalkas, the Oeleuts, and the warlike population of the Kou-Kou-Nor, to join his party; and having also had the address to gain the favour of the Grand Lama of Thibet, he hoped, through the influence of this supreme pontiff of Buddhism, to subject to his sway all the tribes of Mongol Tartary.

Khang-Hi, who was aware of the intentions and the intrigues of the Kaldan, had set all the machinery of Chinese diplomacy in action, to frustrate the projects of his formidable enemy. His emissaries had traversed the various Mongol encampments to endeavour to break

up the coalition of the Kaldan; and his most skilful ambassadors had been despatched to Lha-Ssa to the Grand Lama, to persuade him not to afford the support of his religious influence to the enemies of China.

Notwithstanding these precautions, however, the power of the Kaldan had been continually increasing, and had now become so threatening that Khang-Hi determined to collect his whole disposable force, in order to crush him, and organised a grand expedition, which he proposed to command in person. The preparations were made with prodigious activity, and as the great imperial hunts had kept the troops constantly in motion, their complete organisation did not require much time. The main army, commanded by the Emperor, was composed of thirty-seven thousand men from the Pekin army, to which were attached forty-thousand from the Mongol banners.

The General Fi-Yang-Ko had under his command fifty-five thousand men, Chinese, Mantchoos, and Mongols; the third division, the command of which was intrusted to the General Sap-sou, consisted of thirty-five thousand men. Besides these there were fifteen thousand cashiered mandarins, doctors and bachelors of letters, who were to escort the convoys, and march in the rear of the army, and the vast multitude was still further increased by an immense number of attendants, every Chinese, Mantchoo, or Mongol soldier being waited on by servants attached to his person *, so that alto-

* A body of eight or ten thousand efficient cavalry usually comprises forty or fifty thousand men, servants included, who are made to serve occasionally as soldiers. They are all instructed in the use of the bow and arrow, and in such exercises as may enable them to be put in the place of either horse or foot. These irregular troops are

gether the mass that marched to Tartary might, according to the Annals of China, be estimated at a million of men.

All the preparations being made, the Tribunal of Rites arranged the ceremonies to be observed on the departure of the Emperor; and the Tribunal of War regulated the march of the troops in the following manner: —

"When the Son of Heaven shall have offered a sacrifice to *Tien* (heaven) he shall betake himself to the hall of his ancestors, to inform them of his departure. Issuing afterwards from his palace he shall proceed by the street of Ngan-Ting-Men, to the Gate of the Earthen Wall, where the soldiers of the Eighth Banner shall be under arms awaiting him. The light troops shall form the advanced guard, and the sons of the Emperor, who shall follow him on the expedition, will march each at the head of his banner, with his own body guard. The Mantchoo artillery will form the van of the army, and immediately after them will march the Chinese cannoneers and Chinese soldiers.

"As soon as the Emperor appears three guns shall be fired as a salute to him, and the army shall then put itself in motion. When his majesty arrives at the camp, all the officers and soldiers shall salute him without alighting from their horses, by a profound bow, and then set out on their march. The princes and mandarins, who do not follow the Emperor to the war, shall place themselves to the right and left as he passes, and shall salute him profoundly in a kneeling posture," &c.

at least very profitable to their masters, who not only take their pay, but also the reward of any exploit they may perform.

All having been thus regulated, down to the most minute details, the Emperor performed a solemn sacrifice to Tien, and offered this prayer: —

"The thirty-second year of Khang-Hi, the twenty-seventh day of the second moon, receive my homage, and protect the most submissive of your servants. Oh Tien, Sovereign Heaven, Supreme Emperor! I invoke your aid with respectful confidence in the war that I am just now compelled to undertake. You have overwhelmed me with favours, you have shown me most signal and extraordinary protection. I adore in silence and respect your benefits, and I know not how to express the gratitude that fills my soul. My most ardent desire has always been to see the people of my empire, and even foreign nations, enjoying the blessings of peace; but the Kaldan destroys my dearest hopes, he scatters disorder everywhere around, he tramples your laws under foot, and despises the orders of his sovereign, who holds your place on the earth. He is the most false and the most wicked of men. You granted me one victory over him; I defeated him and reduced him to extremity. The misfortunes brought no change in his conduct; to open violence he has substituted intrigues and cabals, he mocks at the most sacred oaths.

"An object of hatred to the human race, doubtless also, O Tien! he has merited your anger. The desire to punish his crimes and avenge the earth, has alone placed arms in my hands. I hold from you the right of making war on the wicked. To acquit myself of this duty I am now marching in person at the head of my troops, which I have divided into various bodies in order to surround the Kaldan. My departure is fixed for the thirtieth day of the second moon. Pro-

strated before you I implore your succour, and I offer you this sacrifice, animated by the hope of obtaining your protection. I can form but one wish, that of enabling the immense country you have placed under my rule, to enjoy a lasting peace."*

After the ceremonies of the sacrifice, the Emperor repaired to the hall of his ancestors, to inform them, according to custom, of his intended departure, and the war he was about to wage with the Tartars. He afterwards set out from Pekin, on the appointed day, taking with him three of the missionaries, for the interests of science were not to be neglected in this warlike expedition; but it is really mournful to see this great Emperor, who knew, loved, and favoured Christianity, to the extent of granting its preachers a residence in his own palace, still practising absurd pagan ceremonies in which he did not believe, though he authorised them by his example. The soundness of his reason enabled him to perceive the truth, but worldly policy induced him to do homage to a lie.

The imperial chariot advanced across the vast plains of Tartary to the banks of the river Keroulan. At the sight of this formidable force, several Mongol chiefs, vassals of the Kaldan, submitted to the Emperor, who in several engagements gained signal advantages over his antagonist, and at length the Kaldan retired to the western part of his territories whither Khang-Hi did not think it advisable to follow him. The official accounts, spread throughout the empire, represented the Oeleut Prince as entirely defeated and ruined; but though it was true that many of his people had been killed, no part of

* De Mailla, "Histoire Générale de la Chine," vol. ii. p. 187.

his territory had been really taken from him, and the Emperor's forces had not been able to reach him.

In the following year, Khang-Hi marched in the direction of the country of the Ortoos, on the borders of the Yellow River, where the ambassadors of the Kaldan came to meet him. He received them graciously, but would make no condition until the Kaldan himself should come and place himself in his hands. He granted him a delay of seventy days in which to make his submission, and during this interval he returned to Pekin to be present at the festival of the New Year. After this he returned to the Ortoo country, to await the arrival of the Kaldan, making at the same time preparations to pursue him into the depths of Tartary, if he should persist in his obstinate refusal to submit.

The troops of the Kaldan had by this time either been mostly dispersed or submitted to the imperial generals, and the Emperor was about to pursue him into Tartary, when the news of his death came to relieve Khang-Hi from all fear of this formidable opponent, and his majesty returned to Pekin by easy stages, hunting on the way, as was his wont.

When the Emperor returned to his palace, he pronounced in the presence of the grandees of his court a speech, which contains a luminous exposition of the motives and results of this war.

" The Kaldan," he said, " was a formidable enemy. Samarcand, Bokhara, the Poorouts, Yerki-Yang-Kaschgar, Tourfan, and Khamul, and twelve hundred towns taken by him from the Mussulmans, attest how far he was able to carry the terror of his arms. In vain did the Kalkas assemble in all their strength, and oppose to him their seven banners, which form an army of more

than a hundred thousand men. One single year sufficed for the Kaldan to dissipate and annihilate this considerable force; and the Khan of the Kalkas came to implore my assistance, attracted by the reports of the magnanimity and generosity which I have always manifested towards strangers. I should have violated the rules of the wisest policy, if I had declined to receive him, for he would not have failed to join the Oeleuts, and it is needless to say to what power and strength the Kaldan might have raised himself with the assistance of so formidable an ally."

In fact, if the Mantchoo Emperor had neglected to take part in the affairs of these countries, there is reason to think that instead of seeing Mongolia subjected to the sovereign of China, China itself would have been subjugated by the Kaldan. Khang-Hi, after having compelled almost all the branches of the Oeleut nation to obey him, was obliged to attack the Kirghis also; but once master of these countries he became the arbitrator of all the disputes of the Tartar princes amongst themselves, or with the Lama of Thibet.

We have seen that in these military expeditions Khang-Hi was always accompanied by some of the missionaries, with whom he continued his favourite studies of physical science, natural history, geography, and astronomy. The Jesuits who had the honour of being his instructors were consoled for the additional fatigue these journeys imposed upon them, by seeing that they could serve the cause of religion better thus than if they had remained at the missions, amongst their neophytes. Besides maintaining in the Emperor the favourable feelings he had expressed towards the Christians, they did not fail to scatter around them some

evangelical seed, which, with the blessing of God, was to bear fruit at a subsequent period. By the help of human science the light of Christianity was shed on the mandarins of the court, and afterwards diffused still more widely among the people; the propagation of the faith went on from one end of the empire to the other, through all classes of society, and it seemed that the Chinese nation was now to be definitively numbered amongst the great Christian family.

The recent edict of the Emperor, proclaiming the freedom of Christianity throughout his dominions, fixed the thoughts of the missionaries more than ever on the plan of forming a native clergy, a plan which several of the chief men among them, Trigault, Rougemont, and Verbiest, had, at various epochs, alluded to in their memorials. On the 15th of August, 1695, the Jesuits of Pekin drew up a new memorial, which is a glorious monument of their zeal. It is to the following effect: —

They first describe in the liveliest colours the state of religion in China, saying that the moment is come to secure its prosperity for ever, and to open the way to the spiritual conquest of this vast empire; that it is desirable to profit by the recent movement to create a church imposing by the number of its neophytes, — for, they add, according to the policy of the Chinese, persecution is only possible against a small number; it would recoil before a multitude.

In this view, they again solicit permission to dispense with the use of the Latin language, and to establish the rising church on a more solid basis, and according to a plan more in harmony with the manners of the country. They request that the Chinese language may be the

liturgical tongue of this vast empire and of the countries which morally or politically are under its influence.

It might have been objected to this plan, that if the Latin language were neglected, there would no longer exist any direct means of communication between Rome and China, and that the new Christian church would be consequently exposed to great danger of schism; but the missionaries on their side would have replied, that the study of Latin might be required of all persons destined for any distinguished office, more especially of all candidates for the Episcopal see; and that, moreover, a Chinese seminary might be founded at Rome, which would greatly facilitate the relations between Rome and China, whilst it would offer a superior means of instruction to the Chinese clergy.

The missionaries alleged other reasons in support of the request they were urging: some derived from the necessity of creating a numerous indigenous clergy, and the impossibility of doing so in any other way; and this agrees with the opinion of Father Verbiest, as stated in his previous memorial; others deduced from various circumstances local or personal; and the spirit by which the writers were animated may be seen from the following expressions.

"Suppose," they say, "that our Divine Saviour had become incarnate in the empire of China, (which assuredly is not inferior in antiquity, extent, population or influence to the ancient Roman,) and that the Chinese, urged by apostolic zeal, had come to Rome to preach the Holy Gospel of Christ, but announcing as a necessary condition the adoption of the ceremonies and language of China. Would the Romans have accepted it on these conditions? Or if some had so accepted it, would

a Roman priest, who had consumed his best years in the study of a foreign language, and remained in shameful ignorance of the literature and science of his native country, have deserved much consideration ?

" Now let us apply in favour of the Chinese the reasons that love of our own country would in that case have suggested," &c.

In conclusion, the missionaries threw themselves at the feet of the common Father of the faithful, declaring that there never had occurred a more important epoch for the Church of Christ, and that as it now appeared possible to effect the spiritual conquest of China, they conjured him to grant the dispensation they solicited for the increase and security of the rising church.

This memorial, and the plan proposed, may be considered somewhat bold, but it will be surely impossible to find in it any trace of that narrow-mindedness, that illiberality, that antipathy to the institution of a native clergy and to national churches, with which the Society of Jesus has been accused. It has often, in fact, been pretended that the Jesuits refused native clergy, or missionaries belonging to any other order, all participation in their missionary work; that they wished to remain alone in it, in order that they might render themselves indispensable, and domineer over everything at their own pleasure. This remarkable memorial, presented to the Holy See, in the year 1698, is a peremptory answer to all such calumnious accusations. Whilst the missionaries of China were exerting themselves so earnestly for the formation of a native clergy, their missions were attaining a pitch of prosperity that has never since been surpassed. The Emperor, not satisfied with bestowing on the French Jesuits a residence within his own palace,

added to it some time afterwards a large piece of ground adjoining it, to build a church on.

There was in the neighbourhood of the missionary establishment a vast space, on which it was in contemplation to erect some buildings for the accommodation of the eunuchs of the palace; but it occurred to Father Gerbillon that it would be a good plan to try to put a stop to this project and ask for the ground for the erection of a church.

He went, therefore, accompanied by the Fathers De Visdelou and De Fontaney, to the palace, and presented a petition to the Emperor, respectfully stating that the residence of missionaries should never be without churches, and that in fact the churches were the most important parts of the missions; that if the dwelling-houses were large and handsome, the church ought to be still more so, for what a disgrace it would be to those who by their vows and their profession sought before all things the glory of God, to be themselves better lodged than the Lord of Heaven; that since the houses his imperial majesty had bestowed on them were wanting in nothing, they ought to be accompanied by a magnificent church.

The Emperor did not disapprove of the request, but granted the missionaries the above-mentioned piece of ground for the erection of the sacred edifice they proposed. Some days afterwards Father Gerbillon came again to the court, and begged the first eunuch to inform his majesty that they were now prepared to commence the building, and humbly begged to remind him that he had condescended to say he would contribute to the work.

Khang-Hi inquired why the other missionaries had

not come with him to ask this favour, since building a church to their God was a thing that concerned them all equally.

Father Gerbillon replied that, not feeling sure that the demand would be agreeable to the Emperor, they had thought it better not to come to the palace in so striking a manner; but that after having obtained this favour, he should certainly not fail to convoke all his brethren to return thanks to his majesty, and that, since his plan was approved, he would do so that very day, and they would all come to solicit a favour that would do so much honour to the Christian religion.

The missionaries of the three residences of Pekin accordingly went in form, on the following day, to the palace; and the Emperor sent the first eunuch to receive their petition, and reply to it that, since building a church was certainly a holy work, he would contribute to it, by way of marking his esteem both for their religion and themselves. He then ordered that an ingot of silver of fifty ounces, and two pieces of silk, should be given to each of the missionaries, in order, he said, that they might themselves make the offering to their new church. The Emperor also furnished a part of the materials, and appointed mandarins to preside over the work.

Four years were employed in building and ornamenting this French church of Pekin, which when complete was one of the handsomest and most regular edifices to be found in the East.

The entrance was first into a spacious court, fifty feet long, by forty broad, on either side of which was a large hall in the Chinese fashion, one to serve for meetings and for the instruction of catechumens, the

other for the reception of visitors to the mission, and in which were displayed the portraits of Louis XIV., the princes of the royal family of France, the King of Spain, the King of England, and several other sovereigns, as well as some handsome philosophical and musical instruments, and some magnificent French books of engravings, from which some idea might be formed of the pomp and splendour of the court of France. All these things excited the greatest curiosity among the Chinese.

At the end of this great hall was the church, seventy-five feet long, thirty-three broad, and thirty in height; the interior was a composition of two orders of architecture, each order having sixteen demi-columns covered with green lacquer. The lower pedestals were of marble, the upper gilt, as were also the capitals, the cornice, and the frieze of the architrave; the latter appearing to be most richly ornamented in relief, though, in fact, the effect was produced by painting. The other parts of the crown-work were painted with tints graduated according to their different degrees of projection, and the upper part of the roof had twelve large arched windows, six on each side, by which the whole church was perfectly lighted.

The vaulted ceiling was painted and divided into three compartments: the middle one representing an open dome of rich architecture, marble columns, supporting a tier of arcades, surmounted by a handsome balustrade. The columns themselves were surrounded by another balustrade of beautiful design, with symmetrically-arranged baskets of flowers; above them were seen groups of angels on clouds, and, above all, the Eternal Father, holding the world in his hand.

The Chinese would not at first believe that the whole dome was painted on a flat surface, they could not persuade themselves that the columns did not really stand out as they appeared to do; and it is true that the lights were so well managed that it was easy to be deceived. This beautiful work was by the hand of an Italian painter named Gherandini.

To the right and left of the dome were two ovals, exquisitely painted, representing a continuation of the architecture of the church in perspective, and it was amusing to see the Chinese regularly advancing to visit the part of the church which they supposed to be behind the altar. When they got to the end of the building they would draw back, then go forward again, and put out their hands to ascertain whether there were not really elevations and depressions.

The altar was finely proportioned, and ornamented with the rich presents for which the missionaries were indebted to the liberality of Louis XIV. "It was," says Father Jartoux, "an altar erected by the greatest king of the earth to him that is the King of kings."

When the church was finished, it was consecrated with all the pomp it was possible to display. This brilliant fête attracted all Pekin, as well as a great number of the missionaries of all nations then in China, and a throng of Christians, not only from the capital and its environs, but from all parts of the empire, for the provinces desired to be well represented at this imposing ceremony. As soon as Father Grimaldi, visitor of the Society of Jesus in that part of the East, had concluded the benediction, the whole assembly prostrated themselves before the altar, the missionaries ranged within the sanctuary, and the neophytes in the

nave, striking the ground with their foreheads. Afterwards, high mass was celebrated with all the splendour of the Catholic worship, by Father Gerbillon, who was regarded as the founder of the new church; a great number of Chinese neophytes received the holy communion, and prayers were put up for the King of France, the protector and benefactor of the mission. Father Grimaldi then addressed the people in a very touching discourse, and the festival was concluded by the baptism of a great number of catechumens.

The erection of a French church in Pekin made a great sensation throughout China; nothing had been spared to excite the curiosity of the Chinese, or to attract the mandarins and persons of distinction from all parts of the empire, in order that opportunities might be obtained of speaking to them of God and instructing them in the mysteries of Christianity. The Prince Heir Apparent, the two brothers of the Emperor, the princes their children, and the principal persons of the court, hastened to visit the church. The provincial magistrates and the literati, who come annually to Pekin to undergo examination for their diplomas of doctorate, were similarly attracted, and never failed to come and see the new church, drawing thence apparently sentiments favourable to the Christian religion.

The mere inscriptions on the surface of the church were capable of exercising a happy influence on both mandarins and people, for they formed a permanent sermon on the Christian faith. High over the entrance were engraved the words: — "Temple of the Lord of Heaven, built by order of the Emperor;" and beneath this inscription were three others, written and presented

by the Emperor himself. The one in front, a little below the above, was, in letters of gold, ten feet high, and signified: — "To the true Principle of all things." The two others, in letters a foot long, were placed over the two columns of the peristyle; on the right you read —

"He is infinitely good and infinitely just; He enlightens, He sustains, He rules all with supreme authority and sovereign justice."

On the left were the following words —

"He has had no beginning, He will have no end. He has produced all things from the beginning, it is He who governs them, and is their True Lord."

"Whoever is interested in the glory of his country," says Chateaubriand, "cannot see without emotion these poor French missionaries giving such ideas of God as this to the chief of millions of men. What a noble use to make of religion!"

The beauty of the churches and the pomp of Catholic ceremonies certainly exercised a happy influence on the Chinese with regard to the Christian religion; but the missionaries were far from contenting themselves with these external manifestations of their faith. They sought to win souls for Jesus Christ by preaching his Gospel, and, still more, by the always attractive example of works of Christian charity. Turning to good account the taste and aptitude of the Chinese for association, they had organised for Pekin and the provinces a great charitable fraternity under the title of the "Holy Sacrament." In order to make the privilege of being admitted into this institution the more valued, they considered it better not to receive all who should offer themselves for it; and they therefore informed

the neophytes that those only would be received as members who should unite to an exemplary life an ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, and who should also have sufficient leisure to devote themselves to the works of charity, which the association was intended to promote. In the first instance, only twenty-six of the most fervent Christians were received, but twenty-six others were afterwards added, to aid them in their functions and prepare themselves for admission into the fraternity, when they should have given sufficient proofs of their piety and zeal.

In order to omit none of the actions of charity regarded as most necessary in China, the Society was divided into four different classes, each class having its particular patron.

The first was composed of those who were to occupy themselves with the adult faithful, and they had for a patron, St. Ignatius. They were to instruct the neophytes, either alone or with the help of the catechists, and to bring back into the way of salvation those who either through cowardice or from a disorderly life had wandered from it; finally, they were to watch over those Christians to whom God had given children, in order to see that they did not neglect to procure them the grace of baptism.

In the second class were those who were to attend to the instruction of the elder children of Christians, and bring them every Sunday to be taught the duties of Christianity; and since in all the great towns of China, especially in Pekin, numbers of infants are exposed and left to perish, the brethren of the second class were to see holy baptism administered to these forsaken little

ones. These were placed under the special protection of the holy guardian angels.

In the third class were comprised those who had the duty of procuring for the sick and dying the spiritual help necessary to prepare them for a holy death. Their business was to give notice to the missionaries, whenever one of the faithful was dangerously ill, to assist the dying, in the administration to them of the last sacraments, to bury their bodies after their decease, to preside at the interment, and see that no superstitious ceremony took place on the occasion.

The patron of this class was St. Joseph.

Finally, the fourth class was to be chiefly occupied in effecting the conversion of infidels, and they were consequently better instructed than the generality of the Christians, and had to make a special study of particular points of faith. For this purpose they had to apply themselves assiduously to the reading of the books that treat of them, and to be diligent attendants on the instruction given in the churches, in order that they might afterwards be able to sow the seeds of faith in the hearts of idolaters, and bring them to the missionaries whenever they showed any disposition to be converted. This last class was placed under the protection of St. Francis Xavier.

The brethren of each class were distributed through various quarters of the town assigned to them, and fulfilled there their respective functions. They had at their head four principal officers, the first bearing the name of prefect, and the two others of assistants, who were all annually elected, in order that the duties they imposed might not fall too onerously on individuals, and that on account of their short duration they might be the more

zealously performed. These officers were aided in their employment by some subalterns, also chosen by a majority of votes. The alms of the faithful were distributed by the principal officers who devoted them to the assistance of the poor, and to the funeral expenses of those who had not left sufficient means to provide for these expenses; and, finally, to the purchase of religious books, to be given to the pagans who desired instruction. There were two kinds of assemblies of the fraternity, some general, others special, the former held monthly, as well as quarterly, the latter when occasion required.

In these meetings the brethren rendered an account of the works of charity they had performed during the preceding month, and which they proposed to perform in the month ensuing, and written reports were made of those most worth notice, which were afterwards read in the general assemblies for the edification of the fraternity; and in order to encourage them still more in the practice of Christian charity, the missionaries had established in the hall of conference, a copious library of books of value on religious subjects. Of those most in use there were several copies, and the brethren might borrow them, so that by this means they were furnished with all the books required for their own instruction, and that of the converts.

These Christian associations had great effect in China, and were like so many powerful levers to elevate the masses plunged in apathy and religious indifference. The cold, calculating, selfish character of the pagans insensibly yielded to so many examples of zeal, self-denial, and devotion.

The people were astonished at the numerous works of

charity inspired by Christian faith; the mandarins and courtiers spoke of them with admiration, and the Emperor frequently expressed himself in praise of the religion which formed the source and motive of so many beautiful actions. Pagans do indeed sometimes afford help to those who are suffering, hungry, or naked, but it may be observed that they give alms to them only because they fear them, whilst Christians do good to them because they love them. Pagans see in the poor only enemies, whilst Christians regard them as brethren.

The radical difference thus existing between the beneficence of those who were not believers, and those who were, did not escape the penetration of the Emperor Khang-Hi, and he, therefore, often chose the missionaries for his almoners, knowing that by that means his charities would reach the objects of them with more certainty, and more benefit.

In 1704, the Yellow River burst its boundaries, and a terrible inundation carried desolation over the whole province of Chang-Tong. As soon as the news of the great disaster reached Pekin, the Emperor laid an extraordinary tax on his courtiers, and sent to the distressed province considerable sums, which were to be distributed by rich mandarins, expressly appointed for the purpose. The imperial alms, however, were far from being proportioned to the misery they were intended to relieve. Troops of famishing men, women, and children were seen wandering, half naked, about the devastated fields, feeding on the leaves of trees, and sometimes fainting with hunger by the way-side. Several bands of these unfortunate creatures had wandered on till they reached Pekin, searching everywhere for something that might serve for food. The arrival of these walking

skeletons excited general terror, and the government was obliged to consider how they might be fed. The Emperor then remembered how admirably the Christian fraternities were organised for the relief of distress, and as he had no great confidence in his mandarins, he sent for the four Jesuit missionaries.

"You have been induced," he said, "by motives of charity, to come to China; I know that your religion makes it a special duty to relieve the poor. Now the Yellow River has broken its banks, and the inundated people of Chang-Tong are coming in crowds to the capital. I am the father of the empire, and it is my duty to feed those who are dying of hunger. I wish you to aid me in this work of mercy, for I have heard that you distribute alms with intelligence and compassion. Here are two thousand ounces of silver to buy rice, and, perhaps you may be able to increase the sum by making collections in your customary zealous manner. Go, then; I give you the commission to solace these unfortunate people, the victims of the inundations of the Yellow River."

The missionaries received the Emperor's commands with gratitude, and hastened to make collections in the town; and in a very short time they were able to add five hundred ounces of silver to the two thousand given them by Khang-Hi. The Fathers Suarez and Parennia, who were charged with the distribution of alms, had great furnaces and kettles prepared, and placed in the vast enclosure of the missionaries' burial-ground; and they then laid in an immense stock of rice, salted vegetables, common earthenware vessels, and chop-sticks, in order to provide a suitable repast for the multitude of famishing people. They had placed a high mast in the centre of the ground, at the top of which they hoisted a flag when a meal was

ready, and they wished to invite the poor to partake of it. The people were then made to enter in an orderly manner, and ranged, the men on the one side, and the women on the other; then they were made to pass singly through a narrow passage to an office where the food was distributed, and each one received a portion of cooked rice and vegetables, and sitting down in regular files in an appointed spot, peaceably consumed the repast, and as soon as they had finished, and the crockery had been collected and washed, another division of the poor was called up, and the distribution was made to them in the same order as to the first.

The Christians of the highest rank in the town came by turns to wait on the poor, much to their own edification; they collected the utensils, they took care that everything went on regularly and without confusion, and they spoke to each of the poor sufferers some words of consolation. The mandarins and eunuchs of the court, attracted by curiosity to the spectacle, were charmed with the good order that was maintained without the help of a single satellite, and with the cleanliness that the Chinese admire so much, and know so little how to practise. They were surprised too to see persons of wealth and rank mingling thus familiarly with the poor, handing them their chop-sticks, and after the meal conducting them out like guests who are to be treated with attention; and they began to get some insight into the spirit of that religion which can inspire so much humility and devotion.

The very Bonzes became panegyrists of the preachers of the Gospel, for there were usually more than a hundred of them receiving alms with the other poor.

For four months the missionaries of Pekin went on thus feeding more than a thousand persons a day; and these admirable men, who were thus willing to serve the poor in the humblest offices, were men of genius and learning of the highest order. After having prepared cheap soup for the destitute sufferers from the Yellow River, they went to work in the same simplicity of heart, and equally for the glory of God, at the magnificent Atlas of China.

One undertaking of the Emperor's in which the assistance of the missionaries was of the highest value to him, was the preparation of a map of the empire, intended at first only to comprise the countries bounded by the great wall; but afterwards extended to the whole of China and to the eastern and western frontiers. Khang-Hi was fully aware of the importance of this great work which he had himself planned, and he followed its course with great interest, appreciated its merits, understood its difficulties, and urged on its completion with great eagerness. Eight years sufficed for the completion of this immense work, which does no less honour to the genius of the prince who conceived it, than to the skill and industry of those who carried it into execution.

"It is still," says Abel Rémusat, "the greatest and most complete geographical work ever executed out of Europe." *

Thus the missionaries knew how, according to the precept of the apostle, to make themselves all things to all men to gain all for Jesus Christ.

"The Jesuit who set out for China," observes Chateaubriand, "armed himself with the telescope and the

* Mélanges Asiatiques.

compass. He appeared at the court of Pekin in all the urbanity of Louis XIV.'s court, and attended by a train of arts and sciences. Unrolling maps, turning globes, tracing spheres, he taught the astonished mandarins at the same time the true course of the stars, and the name of Him who guided them in their courses. He only dissipated the errors of physical science to attack those of their system of morals; he restored to the heart, its true seat, the simplicity that he banished from the intellect, inspiring at once by his learning and his conduct profound veneration for his religion, and high esteem for his country."

It was a proud thing for France to see these plain, religious men of hers regulating in China the records of a great empire, and sending from Pekin to Paris questions in chronology, astronomy, natural history, which furnished subjects of discussion and inquiry to the most learned men of that capital. Chinese books were translated into French, and French into Chinese; and Father Parennia, in a letter addressed to Fontenelle, speaks thus to the "Académie des Sciences":—

"Gentlemen,—You will be doubtless surprised that I should send you from this remote country a 'Treatise on Anatomy,' a 'Course of Medicine,' and questions on points of physical science, written in a language unknown to you; but your surprise will cease when I inform you that they are your own works in a Tartar dress." * "The whole letter," says Chateaubriand, "is well worth reading, and there breathes throughout it an air of courtesy and refinement, almost forgotten in our days."

These same men, too, who were corresponding with

* Lettres Édifiantes, vol. iii. p. 330.

learned academies in Europe, working at state papers in the Emperor's cabinet, and discussing the truths of religion with the most famous literati of the empire, had no less pleasure in conversing with the simplest peasant in the fields. Let us listen to the erudite Father Premare, relating with pleasing simplicity his excursions amongst the Chinese villages: —

"The diligence with which we instruct the Christians in the towns," he says, "ought not to make us neglect those in the country. I have experienced that it is in the villages we obtain most fruit from our labours, that we meet with the most virtuously disposed and innocent minds, and where, consequently, we meet with the greatest consolation. During the first week of Lent, I went to a village named Lou-Kang, consisting of three or four hamlets so near each other that they appear to form one. On the way I left those who accompanied me to dine at their leisure, and walked on until they should overtake me. In crossing a little hill I came up with a man who was going the same way, and who looked at me very attentively, surprised, no doubt, to see a stranger alone and on foot. At first he followed me without speaking, but after a little while he could not help talking, and I profited by the opportunity to announce to him the tidings of the kingdom of God, and exhorted him to be converted. What I said to him evidently made an impression on his heart, and, by the grace of God, he was so touched by it that he resolved to become a Christian.

"As soon as I reached Lou-Kang, the news of my arrival spread from house to house, and when the next day, after having said mass, I went into a little wood to pray, several of these good people immdeiately

followed me. I received them kindly, and sent them to my house where my catechist instructed them. In this first visit I only conferred baptism on eighteen persons, whom I found particularly well disposed, but I promised the others, who desired to receive it, that I would come again in four or five months and baptize a greater number. Before quitting Lou-Kang I made some arrangements for their benefit, and I named four of these new Christians to instruct the catechumens and watch over the little flock. A trifling act of charity towards a poor sick woman excited great esteem among them for the Christian religion. She had been languishing for three or four years, and was now abandoned by her nearest relatives, who were wearied with the length of her illness, and also had not the means to afford her any comfort. After she had been instructed I went to her hut to baptize her, and I found her lying on a little straw, worse lodged, I believe, than any beast would have been in Europe. The Christians consoled her as well as they could, and I put a few pieces of money into the hands of the most honest of them, to provide a few necessaries for her, or to get her buried if she should die; and two days after my departure I learned that she had died in a very religious state of mind. A trifling alms, judiciously bestowed, will, sometimes, suffice to gain to Jesus Christ, or to maintain in the faith, a whole village.

"I have had the happiness of opening the way of the Gospel in a place where it had never hitherto been preached. A worthy Christian woman, in the palace of the governor of the neighbouring town, once sent me some money to be employed in any work of piety I pleased, and I thought I could not make a better use

of it than by setting up a little mission at Siao-Ché, a large village, of very upright, innocent people, living in the most simple manner. As Siao-Ché is on the banks of a river, almost all the men are fishermen, and I was surprised, as I entered the hamlet, to see only children at the doors; I found it was because the women are always busy inside their houses, while the men are at work on the river, or in cultivating their fields, which they do twice or three times a year.

"Lou-Kang had given me a taste for country missions, and I walked on through the village to where I found these poor people at work all together. I addressed one who seemed to me to have a pleasing countenance, and spoke to him of God. He entered without any difficulty into the sentiments I wished to inspire him with; he appeared pleased with what I said, and, by way of doing me honour, invited me to the Hall of Ancestors, the handsomest house in the village and the common property of the inhabitants, for, as they have for a long time formed no alliances out of their own part of the country, they are all related, and have the same ancestors. It was thither, therefore, that many of them, quitting their work, ran to hear about the holy doctrine. I got my catechist to explain the principal articles to them, and left them some books, but, not being able to stay longer, I departed after having baptized nineteen catechumens."*

In listening to these naïve and charming narratives, one might fancy one's-self present at some of the scenes of the Odyssey, or rather of the Bible. "An empire," says Chateaubriand, "whose manners, time, revolution, and conquest have not been able to change for two

* Lettres Édifiantes, vol. iii. p. 169.

thousand years, becomes transformed at the voice of a monk coming alone from remote Europe. The most deeply-rooted prejudices, the most ancient customs, a religious faith consecrated by ages, — all fall and vanish at the name of the God of the Gospel." *

* Génie du Christianisme, vol. vi. c. 3.

CHAP. VI.

THE STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY ON THE RITES.—THE SEMINARY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.—MESSAGE FROM THE BISHOP OF UONON.—THE JESUITS GET THE EMPEROR TO INTERFERE IN THE DISPUTE.—THE JANSENISTS.—DECREE OF THE PONTIFICAL SEE.—ARRIVAL OF CARDINAL DE TOURNON AT PEKIN.—FAILURE OF HIS FIRST NEGOTIATIONS.—EXPLANATION OF THE CEREMONIES IN HONOUR OF CONFUCIUS AND THE ANCESTORS.—INTERPRETATION OF THE JESUITS.—DECISION OF CLEMENT XI.—MODERATION OF CARDINAL DE TOURNON.—THEOLOGICAL PRETENSIONS OF KHANG-HI.—MONSEIGNEUR MAIGROT BEFORE THE EMPEROR.—HIS INVINCIBLE COURAGE.—BANISHMENT OF MONSEIGNEUR MAIGROT.—IMPERIAL DECREE AGAINST THE MISSIONARIES.—DEPARTURE OF CARDINAL DE TOURNON FROM PEKIN.—HE PUBLISHES AT NANKIN HIS CELEBRATED MANDATE.—THE GENERAL OF THE JESUITS AT ROME.—OATH REQUIRED BY CLEMENT XI.—CARDINAL DE TOURNON IMPRISONED AT MACAO.—HIS SUFFERINGS AND DEATH.—THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF PRONOUNCES A EULOGIUM ON HIM.—THE HISTORICAL APOLOGIST OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

THE progress of the propagation of the faith at Pekin, and in all the provinces of the empire, amongst the people, the literati, the mandarins, and princes of the blood; the numerous churches, increasing in number every year, and displaying to pious neophytes the pomp and majesty of the Catholic worship, all gave room to hope that this ancient empire was about to enter definitively into the great family of Christian nations. Unfortunately the vexatious and interminable question of the Rites came to put a stop to this cheering progress, and

embitter more and more the differences already existing among the preachers of the Gospel.

The dispute which had been carried on with so much acrimony in Asia had now been carried to Rome, where opinions were no less divided than in China, for the matter had there been placed in quite a different point of view by the two parties. We know that after the account given of it by the Dominicans and their adherents, there emanated from the Propaganda, in 1645, a provisionary decree, approved by Pope Innocent X., forbidding the Chinese ceremonies referred to until the Holy See should have given its final decision. — The Jesuits complained of not having been heard; they were allowed to justify their opinion, and the consequence was that a new decree made its appearance in 1656, by which permission was given to the Chinese to retain their ancient customs, accompanied, to save scandal, by the declaration that the honours paid to Confucius and the ancestors had no religious signification, but were purely civil and political.

The Jesuits appealing to this last decree, approved by Pope Alexander VII., asserted that it annulled the former one; the Dominicans then complained of this at Rome, and they obtained a third decree, which maintained the validity of the two former ones by declaring that the Chinese ceremonies were forbidden to those who thought them idolatrous, and allowed to such as regarded them as merely civil acts, the Holy See reserving to itself the right of deciding either way, when the reasons produced on either side should have appeared sufficiently discussed.

This was not perhaps the best method of restoring peace and concord to the missions of China. The per-

mission granted to each party to draw up memorials and statements according to their own views, only kept the spirit of contention alive, as Innocent XI. perceived, and he attempted to find a remedy for an evil that was becoming highly injurious to the success of the missions. He endeavoured to obtain in China itself information certain and extensive enough to place Rome in a position to give an absolute decision; a wise resolution, and, indeed, one that circumstances necessitated. We have already said that there had been formed at Paris a society of ecclesiastics whose purpose was to carry the knowledge of the Gospel to nations still plunged in the darkness of infidelity and idolatry. Louis XIV., whose munificence was always enlightened, had assisted in its establishment, and it had taken the name of Seminary of Foreign Missions. From the earliest period of its institution it had included men of rare virtue and merit, and of truly apostolic zeal. Towards the epoch at which the dispute concerning Chinese ceremonies was at its greatest height, several of these fervent missionaries had made their way into China and joined the evangelical labourers of that empire; but as they were not formally associated either with Jesuits or Dominicans, they were able to study in perfect freedom this question of the rites, and judge of it without any bias from *esprit de corps*. They afterwards took the side of those who considered the Chinese worship of ancestors inconsistent with the principles of Christianity. One of them, M. Maigrot, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Vicar-Apostolic of Fo-Kien, with the title of Bishop of Conon, was commissioned by the Popes Innocent XI. and Innocent XII. to examine on the spot the true state of the controversy,

and to inform the Holy See of the conclusion they should come to.

After having employed the time he thought sufficient in this important examination, he published a mandate, by which he condemned the rites practised in honour of Confucius and the ancestors. "We declare," he said, "that the allegations made to Pope Alexander VII. on the controverted points which divide the evangelical labourers of this mission, are, in many respects, inaccurate, and that therefore the missionaries cannot be guided only by the answers that the Holy See has made, although those answers are true and wise with relation to the circumstances stated." He concluded in these words: — "Finally, we declare that we do not intend by this present declaration and mandate to blame those who have thought otherwise, or followed a practice different from that which we order to be followed in future. In fact, in a matter of this kind, it need not appear astonishing that all the missionaries have not been of the same opinion, but that each one should have followed what appeared to him, before God, most conformable to the truth.

"We will not assert that there are in China missionaries who have fallen into gross idolatry, or suffered others so to fall; we could not make that assertion without gross calumny *; but they have permitted certain ceremonies, which they regarded as purely civil, but which, according to many others, are superstitious and idolatrous."

This mandate, although drawn up in a rather conciliatory spirit, still did but fan the flames of controversy. The missionaries persisted in opposing the decree

* "Sine ingente calumniâ."

of Alexander VII. and that of Innocent XI. to the decision of the Bishop of Conon; they asserted that the mandate had been hastily drawn up, in accordance with a false statement, and they complained of this in the memorials they sent to Rome. On his side the prelate presented in 1696 a petition to the papal court, praying that it would come to some decision concerning his mandate. The Pope was, however, now determined not to give judgment on the simple declaration of either of the parties, but to procure data that should be independent of both, before coming to a final conclusion.

In the meantime, the Jesuits of Pekin committed the signal imprudence of addressing themselves to the Emperor Khang-Hi, and requiring his opinion on the controversy.

"In 1699," say the Annals of China, "Grimaldi, Pereira, Thomas, Gerbillon, and several other Europeans, presented to the Emperor a petition in these words:—

"'We, your faithful subjects, though born in distant countries, respectfully entreat your Majesty to give us positive instructions on the following points: — The literary men of Europe have been informed, that certain ceremonies are practised in China in honour of Confucius; that sacrifices to heaven are offered in them, and particular rites observed with regard to ancestors; persuaded that these ceremonies and these rites are founded in reason, the European Literati, who do not nevertheless know the true meaning of them, beg you most earnestly to make them acquainted with it.

"'We have always supposed, that Confucius was honoured in China as a legislator; and that it was in this point of view only that the ceremonies established in his honour were practised. We believe, that the rites

observed with respect to ancestors are only established with a view of making known the affection that has been felt for them, and consecrating the memory of the good they have done during their lives. As for the sacrifice to heaven (Tien), we believe that it is not to the visible heaven, the sky above us, they are offered, but to the Supreme Master, Author, and Preserver of Heaven and Earth, and all that they contain. Such is the sense and interpretation we have always given to these Chinese ceremonies; but as foreigners cannot be supposed to be able to pronounce on this important point with the same certainty as the Chinese themselves, we beseech your Majesty not to refuse us the explanation which we need, and which, with respect and submission, we await.'" *

"The Emperor," continue the Annals, "read this petition with much attention, and signified his approval of it, as perfectly conformable to the religious doctrine of the Chinese."

A modern apologist for the Society of Jesus† expresses himself thus: "In the course of the year 1700, when these interminable discussions occupied all the learned, the Fathers Antoine, Thomas, Grimaldi, Pereira, Gerbillon, Bouvet, Suarez, Stumpf, Regis, Pernoti, and Parennin, Jesuits famous in the history of the sciences, made the following proposal to the Holy See:—'The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, resident at the Court of Pekin, have considered it fitting to address the Emperor, and request him to give a precise and certain judgment concerning the true and legitimate sense of the rites and ceremonies of his empire, in order to decide whether they are purely civil, or whether they implied any-

* De Mailla, "Histoire Générale de la Chine," vol. iv. p. 303.

† Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus, vol. v. p. 46.

thing else, with regard to Confucius and the departed ancestors.

"'We have said a precise and certain judgment, because it belongs only to the Emperor, who is the Supreme Legislator of his empire, for things sacred as well as political and civil, to decide what is to be done and thought in these matters; his authority is absolute, and from it there is no appeal. The whole nation must concur in the sense which he attributes to the rites, and in which he understands the writings of the ancients; and to the authority of his definition may also be added, the high reputation for knowledge that he has established throughout the empire.'"

The historian adds, that this proceeding on the part of the Jesuits of Pekin was thought advisable by the Protestant Leibnitz, but rejected by the apostolic chair; possibly because it was thought to savour more of the court than the cell. It might be said, indeed, that the missionaries would like better to see this controversy decided by the Emperor of China, than by the successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

The enemies of the Jesuits assert, that they kept secret the answer they received from the Emperor, and that the missionaries of the other orders were only informed of it some months after it had been sent to Rome, when it was no longer time to write to Europe. It may be supposed, that the Jesuits attached great importance to this imperial declaration, and expected that it would have at Rome a decisive influence in favour of their opinion, for certainly no one could be more capable of determining the true meaning of Chinese ceremonies

* Rohrbacher, "Histoire Universelle de l'Église Catholique," vol. xi. p. 644.

than the Emperor Khang-Hi, who was also the most learned and well-informed man in his dominions. But, at the same time, it must be admitted, that the step they had taken was a very dangerous one, and capable of entailing great troubles.

The Jesuits assuredly had no intention of constituting the Emperor judge of the controversy, or of asking him to decide on points of Christian doctrine; they merely desired him to appear as a witness of the facts. Was this, however, a wise and prudent proceeding on their part? Khang-Hi had been informed of the dissensions prevailing among the missionaries, and finding that the Jesuits had recourse to his authority, could he avoid supposing that he was taken for an arbiter in the strife? Might it not be easily foreseen, that the anger of the Emperor would be excited, if the decision of the Holy See should be opposed to his? At the very moment when the Emperor appeared so favourably disposed to the mission, was it wise to risk the bringing him into collision with the Pope?

Was it not enough that the neophytes and the missionaries were involved in strife, without bringing the pagans — the Literati, and even the Emperor himself — into this miserable quarrel?

If, however, the Jesuits sought to secure themselves a powerful protector in Asia, it was because they knew that they were powerfully attacked in Europe, and that public opinion had been strongly excited against them. Already the memorials of Father Le Comte had been denounced at the Sorbonne, and the Doctors of the Faculty had passed a censure upon five propositions, extracted from these memorials.*

* It is not without surprise that we find in the writings of this

The recluses of Port Royal, who had been so long at open war with the Jesuits, seized with avidity on the Chinese question, to complete the ruin of a society that everywhere held them in check. After having endeavoured to prove that their enemies were the corrupters of morals in Europe, it was pleasant to be able to make them appear in China as the apostles, or at least, the abettors of idolatry. Pascal undertook to demonstrate this, and the graces of his style were fatal to the good name of the Jesuits. Must a man not be in the right, it was thought, if he can express himself so well? People liked to persuade themselves that a writer of so much talent, who knew his own language so admirably, was also perfectly well acquainted with the Chinese rites, and nothing more was needed in France to turn the scale of opinion against the Jesuits.

The inquiry into this difficult and dangerous matter was, however, carried on at Rome in a circumspect and deliberate manner; but, at length, after having listened to the arguments of both parties, to each of whom was allowed the most ample freedom to defend itself, the "Congregation of the Holy Office" passed a sentence of

learned Jesuit such propositions as the following: — "The people of China have preserved for more than 2000 years the knowledge of the true God, and have paid him homage in a manner that might serve as an example even to Christians." Another, too, speaking of Confucius, says: — "His humility and modesty might give grounds for the conjecture, that he was not merely a philosopher formed by reason, but *a man inspired by God*, for the reform of this new world." Father Le Comte was doubtless inspired by a great desire to facilitate the conversion of the Chinese, and especially of the Literati, but, in the words of the modern apologist of the Society of Jesus, "we must say that, in this instance, Christian charity and the enthusiasm of science led the Jesuits astray."—*Crétineau Joly*, vol. iii. p. 178.

rigid prohibition against the Chinese ceremonies, as well as of the terms which the Chinese Literati made use of to designate God; and, in 1704, Clement XI. approved this decision by a solemn decree, but ordered it to be promulgated only by Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, about to be sent to China as Legate Apostolic. The Congregation of the Holy Office had added to the decree, "The Patriarch of Antioch must be charged on the one hand to sweep away, in the words of Tertullian, even the lightest vapour of pagan superstition, but at the same time to defend the honour and reputation of those evangelical labourers who have toiled so assiduously in the vineyard of the Lord; and who, before the above-mentioned questions were decided by the prudence and integrity of the Holy See, were of a different opinion. They must not be made to pass for abettors of idolatry, especially as they have declared that they never permitted the greater part of the things that have been laid to their charge—which ought never to be permitted to Christians; and because, moreover, there can be no doubt that now, when the matter is irrevocably decided, they will submit with due humility and obedience to the decision and commands of the Holy See."

It is written in the Annals of China that, in 1704, a great man of Europe, called *To-Lo**, was sent by the "Supreme Emperor of Doctrine" to Canton, capital of

* It is known that missionaries resident in China have to adopt a Chinese name. That of Cardinal de Tournon was certainly very ill chosen, for it signifies "*Imbecile.*" And though we have heard it said by Christians of Pekin, that the name was given to him expressly to turn him into ridicule; and though we cannot believe that the missionaries were capable of such an action, it is to be regretted that they allowed him to assume a name of which assuredly they knew the signification.

the province of that name, where he resided a whole year, without appearing disposed to come to the court.

In the following year, add the Annals, on the twenty-seventh of the fifth moon, Grimaldi, Thomas, Pereira, and Gerbillon presented a petition to the Emperor, in which, after having explained the quality and commission of To-Lo, lately arrived at Canton, they prayed the Emperor to permit him to come to court, and inquire after his health. Khang-Hi, some days afterwards, replied, "Since To-Lo is a man who cultivates virtue, and that he has come to China to inquire concerning your law, and is not sent by any of the kings of Europe to do homage, or pay tribute, let him dress himself in the Chinese fashion, and come to court; and let the Viceroy of Canton be written to to furnish him in abundance with all that he requires to come honourably, and as soon as possible, to Pekin; and let his expense be defrayed along the whole route." To-Lo did not reach Pekin till the tenth moon of that year. When the Emperor heard that he was only at the distance of a few days' journey, and that he was coming by sea, he sent to meet him the sons of the Viceroy of Canton, with the Europeans, Gerbillon, Suarez, and Regis, to the port of Tien-Tsing. They found him suffering from illness, and they hastened to provide him with all that he required for his comfort, and brought him to the "Temple of the Lord of Heaven," that is, the residence of the missionaries, situated in the enclosure of the Yellow City, where apartments had been prepared for him. On his arrival, Khang-Hi did him the honour to send some mandarins to inquire after his health; and during the Cardinal's stay at Pekin, which lasted more than a year, sent him dishes from his table, and granted him several audiences.

He afterwards had him conducted back to Canton; with the same honours as on his coming to Pekin.

Such is the brief narrative of the Chinese historians of the Cardinal's journey, and it now remains for us to seek in the accounts of the missionaries for the results of his mission.

It is indisputable that the Jesuits saw with regret the arrival of the Patriarch of Antioch, for they knew that he came to condemn their doctrine concerning the rites, and to effect changes in the missions which were little to their taste. But, notwithstanding their repugnance, they exerted themselves to the utmost to obtain permission for him to come to Pekin, and to procure for him such a reception as had never been given to any ambassador before. These external manifestations of respect were, however, of secondary importance, and, unfortunately, it cannot be stated that they did, frankly and cordially, forward the main object of his mission.

On seeing an Apostolic Commissioner make his appearance in China, the Emperor understood that he came to establish concord and uniformity of conduct among the missionaries from Europe ; and he appeared astonished and shocked that a foreign sovereign should pretend to censure or approve authoritatively what took place in the interior of the Chinese Empire. A few days after the arrival of the Cardinal, he inquired of him the purpose of his coming, and the latter replied, that it was, in the first place, to return thanks to the Emperor, in the name of the Pope, for the protection he had granted to Christianity and its apostles ; and that, moreover, his Holiness desired to establish at Pekin a Superior-General of all the missionaries. The Emperor approved this plan, which seemed likely to be advan-

tageous, but he desired that the Superior-General should have resided at least ten years at his court, and be thoroughly acquainted with all its customs. The Patriarch was thrown into consternation by this reply, which he believed to have been dictated by the Jesuits of the court. Should the will of the Emperor be obeyed, nothing would have been gained, but the position of affairs remain precisely what it was before, for the Superior-General must in that case be chosen from among the missionaries whose opinions were well known to be the very opposite of those of the Legate Apostolic.

On the 31st of December, 1705, the Patriarch of Antioch was admitted for the first time to the presence of Khang-Hi. He was followed by all the missionaries of Pekin, and his presentation took place with unaccustomed pomp. The different cohorts through which he passed in traversing the imperial palace, had orders to dispense with the customary Chinese ceremonies, in consideration of his feeble state of health. The Emperor made him sit down on a rich divan, and himself presented him a cup of wine, and afterwards had a banquet served to him on thirty-six golden dishes. After this state feast, the conversation ran for a long time on unimportant subjects, and matters of mere curiosity; but at length the Emperor requested the Patriarch to explain himself concerning his legation. The Prelate, hoping that he would object less to admitting a Nuncio than a Superior-General, proposed on the part of the Pope to establish at Pekin an agent, charged with maintaining the relations between Europe and China; and the monarch replied, that that would be quite easy, and the commission might be given to some one of the old European residents of his palace. The Legate, seeing

in this proposal the same influence and the same inconvenience as before, replied that it would be more proper to appoint a new agent, but the Emperor remained immovable, and refused to accept a new man. In this instance, it must be confessed, there seems reason to suspect the influence of the missionaries, who were living at the court, and who felt convinced that the presence of a Superior General not of their Society would be fatal to the missions.

The same influence was again perceptible when another subject came to be discussed in the same interview. The Emperor wished to send some presents to the Sovereign Pontiff, in return for those he had received, and to ask at the same time that there might be sent to his court twelve persons of learning and accomplishments—namely, three mathematicians, three physicians, three surgeons, and three musicians; and the Patriarch willingly undertook to forward the presents to Rome, and to negotiate for the despatch of the twelve new missionaries. He wished, however, naturally enough, to entrust an affair of this importance to some one of whose devotion and fidelity he was well assured, but Khang-Hi did not approve of the Patriarch's choice, and pointed out Father Bouvet to fill the office, although it certainly could not have been supposed that he possessed the entire confidence of the Legate Apostolic. It was in vain, however, that he made representations to this effect; he was obliged to submit to this new check, and to bow before the imperial will, which remained inflexible.

In the numberless obstacles which he encountered on every side, the Legate always thought he could perceive the hand of the Jesuits at work to contravene his

mission; and whether this conviction were well founded or not, it created a mutual distrust that only increased the difficulties of both parties.

The Patriarch of Antioch, however, pursued with ardour and perseverance the principal object of his voyage to China. Since his arrival at Pekin he had collected with great care all the information that could throw any light on the question of rites. Aided by M. Appiani*, a Piedmontese Lazariste, and by the Father de Frosoloni, a Franciscan monk, who served him as interpreter, he obtained from the Christians of the capital numerous details concerning the ceremonies, of which we will now give a rather fuller account, in order that the reader may be able himself to form a true estimate of their character.

The Chinese, especially those of the literary class—the principal one in the empire, and of which the sovereign himself is the head—pay especial homage to deceased parents and ancestors to the fourth degree, and that both in public and private. They have temples, chapels, and oratories dedicated to them, in which are tablets of chestnut wood inscribed with large characters —"Throne (or seat) of the soul or spirit" of such or such a one, with the name and title of the person in question. In the midst of the edifice is a table or altar, with other smaller ones on each side, above which are placed the tablets of various ancestors.

Three or four times a year, and especially in spring and autumn, a solemn oblation or sacrifice is celebrated with great pomp in these chapels. Some days before the ceremony, the father, or head of the family, with

* M. Appiani was the first of the spiritual children of St. Vincent de Paul, who penetrated into China.

three or four other of the principal relations, are chosen to perform the functions of priests, acolytes, or masters of the ceremonies. They choose by lot the day of the oblation, and prepare themselves for it by a three days' fast. On the preceding evening they examine the animals to be offered — pigs, goats, or others, and pour warm wine into their ears. If they shake their heads, they are regarded as proper for the sacrifice; if they do not they are considered as unclean. The animal chosen is then immediately killed in the presence of the officiating persons.

On the day of the ceremony, all the relatives assemble in the chapel before cock-crow, and are ranged according to their rank. The wax lights placed on the altar are kindled, and incense and perfumes burnt on it; and then the master of the ceremonies cries with a loud voice, "Let all bend their knees." The persons present thereupon make three genuflexions before the tablets, striking the ground with their foreheads; whilst one of the ministers recites certain forms of prayer.

Afterwards, the master of the ceremonies cries, "Rise!" and the assembly remains standing, while the principal person, who performs the function of priest, raises a cup filled with wine before the altar, and the master of the ceremonies says aloud, "Oblation of wine." He then tastes it, and pours out the rest on a figure of straw, placed near him. After this, he pulls out some of the hair of the animals immolated, and this hair and the blood is buried. The head and the flesh are raised on high, and offered before the tablets, the master of the ceremonies crying out, "Oblation of goat, or pork;" and he offers in the same manner, flowers, fruit, vegetables, silk stuffs, and paper money, which he burns before

the door of the chapel, one of his assistants saying prayers the while.

The solemnities being thus satisfactorily concluded, the master of the ceremonies announces to the assistants, that on account of the worship paid to their ancestors, they may expect all kinds of prosperity; health of body, abundance of the fruits of the earth, numerous children, honours, and a long life.

As for the worship of Confucius, that philosopher has in all the towns a temple, not far from the "Palace of the Lettered," with his tablet, and an inscription in golden letters—"Throne or Seat of the Soul of the very holy and most super-excellent Grand Master Confucius." Twice a year, namely, at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, all the literati assemble there to do honour to Confucius by a solemn oblation, as their patron, and the father of Chinese philosophy. The first mandarin or governor of the town, performs the functions of priest, and names men of letters to assist him as acolytes and masters of the ceremonies, as in the ceremonial for the ancestors. After having kept a strict fast, the officiating persons prepare, on the eve of the equinox, fruits, rice, and liqueurs, to be offered to Confucius in the court of his temple; and the mandarin who acts as priest, burns incense and perfumes on a table, with wax lights, and kills the animals in the manner before-mentioned.

The same mandarin makes a profound bow to the pig chosen, which he repeats when the animal has been slaughtered in his presence by butchers. Afterwards, the hair is shaved off, and it is kept with the blood for the following day, when before cock-crow, the mandarin, and other officers and literati, present themselves in

great pomp in the temple of Confucius—burn incense on an altar illuminated with red wax candles, and at a signal given by the master of the ceremonies, chant sacred hymns and other pieces of music. Then, when the master of the ceremonies cries out, "Let the hair and blood of the victims be offered," the mandarin raises them on high before the tablet of Confucius. A procession is then formed, and the assembly proceeds to the court of the temple, and buries the hair and blood. After that, every one returns to his place, and the master of the ceremonies cries with a loud voice, "Let the spirit of Confucius descend!" and at these words, the mandarin takes a cup of wine, and pours it on the straw figure; at the same time, drawing the tablet of Confucius from its niche, he places it on the altar, and says a prayer containing the highest praises of Confucius.

This is the first part of the sacrifice; the second is made in the following manner:—The master of the ceremonies cries out, "Bend your knees," and all bend accordingly—"Rise," and all rise. Then the mandarin washes his hands, and receives from another officer a piece of silk stuff, and a vase full of wine. The master of the ceremonies cries, "Let the sacrificer approach the throne of Confucius;" and immediately whilst the musicians sing, the sacrificer raises the silk and the wine, and offers them to Confucius, the master of the ceremonies commanding the assembly to kneel down and rise up again four successive times, which they do, bowing their foreheads to the ground each time. Then the silk stuff is burnt, with a prayer in honour of Confucius, and there are more prostrations, and an offering of wine with a prayer, in which the spirit of Confucius is addressed as present.

The assembly then proceeds to the third part of the sacrifice, the master of the ceremonies exclaiming, "Drink the wine of prosperity and felicity!" and, "Let us kneel." Then he addresses himself to the sacrificer, with "Drink the wine of felicity;" and the sacrificer drains the cup. After that, the master says, "Take the flesh of sacrifice," and the same sacrificer receives from one of the officers the flesh of the victims, and raising it in both hands, he offers it to Confucius, adding two prayers, of which the last concludes thus:—

"All that we offer is pure and odoriferous; after having accomplished these ceremonies, we rest in peace, and the spirit is rejoiced. These sacrifices will enable us to obtain all kinds of felicities and good things." At last the spirit of Confucius, which is supposed, after these invocations, to have descended and placed itself upon the tablet, is accompanied with solemn prayers back to its niche, and the ceremony terminates with distribution of the flesh of the victims among the assistants; those who eat of it hoping that all kinds of benefits will be procured for them by Confucius.*

Such are the famous solemnities prescribed by the Chinese Ritual, and practised throughout the empire, in the sight and to the knowledge of every one. Such the Dominicans described them at Rome, and the Legate Apostolic had himself the opportunity of observing at Pekin, at the period of which we have been speaking.

According to this account, says Monseigneur Luquet†, it would seem at first difficult to understand how the Jesuits could tolerate practices so polluted by superstition; but before passing judgment on their conduct,

* Historia Cultûs Sinensium, p. 3—12.

† Luquet, "Lettre à Monseigneur l'Évêque de Langrès," p. 158.

it is well to place before us some important considerations; and first of all, that the lettered class of China certified in the most positive manner, that these honours were, in their principle, purely civil, and had always preserved this character among them; and that the common people only had subsequently attached to them superstitious ideas that were foreign to them at their institution.

Whether these men spoke according to their consciences, or that they wished to turn from their practices a disgraceful reproach, we shall not examine here; we must only maintain that a similar testimony given and repeated solemnly in various instances by the *élite* of a nation, was unavoidably much relied on by the foreigners who received it. It appears to us, that it might for many minds have afforded a moral certainty, sufficient for a justification before the tribunal of conscience; and this argument will acquire more force when we remember the difficulty the missionaries must have had to make out the truth at a time when they were still very imperfectly acquainted with the manners, customs, and language of this strange nation.

The missionaries of the Society of Jesus, then, while recognising these ceremonies as superstitious for many of those who practised them, permitted Christians to participate in them under certain conditions. In the first place, they had to show that they were compelled to join in them by their position; and, secondly, they were required to think of them in the purely civil character which originally belonged to them.

Looking at the matter from this point of view, the Jesuits had conducted themselves with regard to the temples of Confucius and the ancestors as if they were

simply places of meeting without any religious character, and treated the sharing in the distribution of meats as the mere participation in a festival of a very allowable kind. They interpreted with still more facility the prostrations and other ceremonies, analogies to which could be found in the customs and intercourse of daily life. In this they were certainly mistaken; but, as has been shown, their error was excusable, and admitted of plausible interpretation.

The Catholic Church, however, can tolerate nothing that may tend to injure the purity of its faith and morals, and it was, therefore, perfectly right that their doctrine should be condemned. At the moment when the Legate Apostolic quitted Europe for China, Pope Innocent XII. set on foot a thorough investigation of the question which divided the missionaries; and his successor Clement XI. had it continued with the greatest care in his presence, up to the 20th of November, 1704, when he confirmed and sanctioned the decisions of the Congregation of the Inquisition.

A solemn decree of the Sovereign Pontiff, condemnatory of the Chinese ceremonies, was despatched to the Cardinal de Tournon, who received it at Pekin while he was making vain efforts to induce the Jesuits to abandon their erroneous opinions. The decree of Clement XI. was substantially to the following effect: —

As the true God cannot conveniently be named with European words, we must employ the words *Tien-Tchou*, that is to say, "Lord of Heaven," in use for a long time in China, and approved by both missionaries and their converts; we must, on the contrary, absolutely reject the appellations of *Tien*, Heaven, and *Chang-Ti*, August Emperor; and for this reason it must on no account be

permitted that tablets shall be suspended in the churches with the Chinese inscription, *King-Tien*, "Adore Heaven." *

Further, the faithful of the Church of Christ must on no account, and for no cause be permitted to preside, serve, or assist in the solemn sacrifices or oblations that the Chinese are in the habit of performing at the two equinoxes of each year, to Confucius and their defunct ancestors, since these oblations or sacrifices are polluted by superstition. It must also not be permitted that in the buildings or temples of Confucius, called in Chinese, Miao, the said Christians shall perform any of the ceremonies, rites, or oblations offered in honour of the same Confucius every month, at the new and full moon, by the mandarins or first magistrates, before they take, or after having taken possession of their dignities, — or by men of letters, who, after having obtained their degrees, are in the habit of going to the temples of Confucius.

Further, the Christians must not be permitted to perform the less solemn oblations in the temples dedicated to ancestors, nor to officiate or serve in them in any manner whatsoever, nor to practise in them any other rites or ceremonies. It must not be permitted to Christians, either separately or with pagans, to perform rites in honour of their ancestors before the tablets in private houses, nor at their sepulchres, nor to officiate or assist in them. After having well weighed all that has been alleged, for or against the ceremonies in question, it has been decided that they cannot be se-

* It will be remembered that the Emperor Khang-Hi gave an inscription of this kind, written by his own hand, for the Church of Pekin.

parated from what is superstitious, and that consequently they cannot be permitted to Christians, even though they should be preceded by a protest, public or private, of their not being practised as religious worship, but purely in a civil or political sense, and that the persons practising them do not ask or hope anything whatever from those to whom they are addressed.

It must not, however, be supposed that this prohibition extends to the mere presence at the performance of such ceremonies, or to the purely material assistance that Christians sometimes have to afford to the superstitious practices of pagans, provided always that they do not give any sign of approbation, tacit or express, to them, nor take any part in the ministerial functions connected with them, and that they cannot otherwise avoid incurring hatred or ruin.

Finally, it must not be permitted to Christians to keep in their private houses the tablets of deceased ancestors, according to the custom of the country; that is to say, with the Chinese inscription, that it is the throne or seat of a certain spirit, even though this inscription should be in an abridged form. As for tablets which bear only the name of the deceased person, they may be tolerated, provided always that in the erection of them nothing takes place which savours of superstition, and that no scandal is occasioned,— that is to say, that the infidels cannot imagine that the Christians keep these tablets in the same spirit as they do themselves; further, it will be necessary in such a case to place near these tablets a declaration of what is the faith of Christians concerning the dead, and in what manner filial piety towards deceased parents and ancestors ought to be shown.

Clement XI., however, while correcting the errors of the missionaries, applies himself to justify their conduct, and forbids the imputing any blame to them.

"We must not," he says, "regard the missionaries who have pursued a different course in this respect as at all blamable. It need not excite surprise that in a matter disputed for so many years, upon which the Holy See itself has given different answers, according to the different statements of facts laid before it, that all minds should not have been brought to the same way of thinking. For this reason we charge the Patriarch of Antioch, and all others who may be required to put our decision in force, to guard the reputation and honour of the evangelical labourers, and to prevent their being regarded as abettors of idolatry and superstition; since we do not entertain the smallest doubt that now that an end is put to the controversy, they will submit with proper humility and obedience to the decision of the Holy See."

The controversy was, in fact, at an end, now that Rome had spoken out, but though the decision had been given, it was not yet altogether sure how the decision would be carried into effect by the missionaries. The Cardinal de Tournon, who, during his stay at Pekin, had means of ascertaining exactly the state of opinion on the subject, thought it most prudent not immediately to publish the apostolic constitution of Clement XI. He saw that the partisans of the rites were so enthusiastic in their sentiments on this point, that he did not feel convinced of their yielding the simple and absolute obedience, which cannot without great scandal be refused to the words of the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

Instead, therefore, of making use of the authority

with which he was invested, he showed much discretion and forbearance, endeavoured to induce dissidents to change their opinion, and to bring them back by mildness and persuasion to coincide in the view taken by the Holy See. With this purpose he sent for Monseigneur Maigrot, the Bishop of Conon, to discuss with the Jesuits the various points of the controversy; and he also desired Father de Visdelou, a most celebrated and learned Jesuit, but who did not share in the opinions of his brethren, to come to Pekin.

A second consideration of not less weight than the first, induced the Legate Apostolic to refrain from publishing the papal decision. The imprudence of the court missionaries had in some measure tied his hands, for since the Emperor had been induced to interfere in the controversy, and that Khang-Hi had declared from the throne of his infallible sovereignty the freedom of the rites in question from any tinge of superstition, it would be evidently a somewhat perilous proceeding to pass a solemn condemnation of them in Pekin, and throughout the empire. To proclaim a decision precisely contrary to that of the monarch, would in all probability excite his vehement anger.

The missionaries of Pekin, however, though they had not the actual document in their hands, could not be ignorant of what had been decided on the subject at Rome. The prudence of the Legate Apostolic only embarrassed them, and in the state of irritation both parties were in, they would have liked better that he should act with less caution—the one in the hope of obtaining a brilliant triumph over their opponents, the other in the expectation that the Emperor would make

them amends for their defeat, by taking the matter up as a question of imperial authority.

Nothing was talked of among the Christians and missionaries of Pekin but the important document lately arrived from Rome; but the talk was in whispers—they seemed to have a foreboding of the agitation it would cause in all the Christian communities of the empire. To any one not acquainted with the Chinese—with their manœuvring and intriguing character, their inclination for propagating news in a mysterious manner, and exaggerating and distorting what they propagate, it would be scarcely possible to form an idea of the state of the mission of Pekin at this time. The neophytes hurrying about stealthily to one another, and gliding into the abodes of the missionaries, might have been taken for the agents of a secret society, weaving the plot of a conspiracy.

The Emperor was not long in obtaining information of the reports in circulation among the Christians, and he became vaguely aware that the ceremonies of which he had made himself the champion had been condemned at Rome. As he had a strong taste for polemical discussion, and was gifted with a great facility of expression that he was very fond of displaying, the question put to him by the missionaries had, at first, chiefly interested him, because it afforded him facilities for this purpose. Afterwards, however, he felt his honour and his authority deeply concerned in it.

As the question had been discussed at Rome by the Sovereign Pontiff, in an assembly of Cardinals and of the first theologians of the Catholic Church, the Emperor Khang-Hi determined, in his turn, to have it brought before him in the presence of the court and of

the great dignitaries of the empire; and in conformity with the resolution, he gave, on the 29th of June, 1706, a solemn reception to the Cardinal. The Legate Apostolic declared to the Emperor that he had undertaken this long journey to thank him in the name of the Chief of the Christians for the favours he had bestowed on the missionaries, and the protection he had granted to their holy religion. This compliment afforded Khang-Hi an opportunity for commencing the discussion he meditated, and he replied, "Yes, your religion is holy: it would be desirable that it should be propagated over the whole world; but you do not go about it properly. You do not take into account the manners and opinions of various nations;" and then, having entered into a long detail of the Chinese ceremonies, he showed himself much inclined to favour the practice of the majority of the Jesuits.

"The Europeans," he said, "do not understand sufficiently the sense of the Chinese books, and the signification of their ceremonies; and it is to be feared that the Pope, being ill-informed by ignorant people, may make some regulations which, being founded on false information, will infallibly draw down ruin on the Christian religion in my empire. To prevent this inconvenient result, I wish to revise the accounts that are sent to Europe, in order to rectify them and correct their errors."

This imperial harangue greatly embarrassed the Legate Apostolic, for it was not easy to contend thus, hand to hand, with one who could cut short the controversy with a single word, drive out Jesuits and Dominicans together, and proscribe their religion throughout the length and breadth of his empire. The Patriarch of

Antioch had to tack with great care to avoid the terrible shoal, while endeavouring to make Khang-Hi comprehend the distinction between the question of fact and of law. The first required nothing more than a simple and truthful statement of the practices really observed by the Chinese; the second must be judged of by Christian doctors, and not by the learned of other religions, since it was necessary to regard them from the point of view afforded by Christian faith; it was also believed that even the Chinese doctors were far from unanimous in justifying the worship of Confucius and the ancestors.

The legate then pointed out Monseigneur Maigrot as a man profoundly versed in Chinese letters, and whose knowledge was capable of throwing great light on the question; and Khang-Hi replied by desiring that prelate to point out in writing precisely the passages in the works of Confucius which he regarded as opposed to Christianity.

The prelate complied with his demand, and cited in support of his opinion fifty texts taken from the sacred books of China, but protesting at the same time that he did not intend in any way to recognise the Emperor as judge in a case the decision of which belonged to the Holy See alone. This protest was approved by the Bishop of Antioch, who forbade the missionaries of the different congregations to refer the matter to the sovereign of China, as some, following up the memorial presented to the Emperor in 1700, proposed to do.

The paper sent in by Monseigneur Maigrot excited a strong sensation at court, and highly displeased the Emperor, whose declared opinion it contradicted; for the numerous texts cited proved the practices to be idolatrous which Khang-Hi had in his declara-

tion to the Sovereign Pontiff in 1700, stated to be purely civil.

It was not easy to confute the argument of the Bishop of Conon, except by maintaining that he had not perceived the true meaning of the Chinese authors; this, therefore, was the course taken, and it happened that this accusation of ignorance acquired additional weight from a circumstance, trifling enough in itself, but which malicious ingenuity turned to good account.

The Emperor Khang-Hi, after having read the Bishop's memorial, sent for him to the palace, and argued with him a long time. Wishing afterwards to test his knowledge of the Chinese language, he then proposed to him to read the four characters inscribed over the throne in the Hall of Audience. The prelate, his adversaries state, could only read two, and could not explain any; and thence it was inferred—reasoning from what is known of European language—that he was ignorant of the first elements of a branch of knowledge in which his friends had stated him to be deeply versed. It must indeed have been thought strange enough in Europe; but the Jesuits, who were aware of the singular structure of the Chinese language, would have shown more candour and integrity if they had not attached any importance to this incident. We are convinced that Khang-Hi himself, one of the most learned men in his empire, was by no means surprised to find the bishop at fault concerning a few characters, for there is not a member of the famous academy of Han-Lin who is not often obliged to have recourse to his dictionary, especially when he has to read anything upon a subject with which he is not familiar.

We have ourselves seen excellent Chinese scholars

stopped almost at every page in reading the catechism; and the bishop might really be a learned Sinologist, although he could not interpret an inscription concerning the throne of the Son of Heaven. It does seem to us, therefore, that his adversaries did not act with good faith when they cast upon him an imputation of ignorance, which has remained attached to his name in all subsequent histories.

The Emperor Khang-Hi was assuredly less astonished at the asserted ignorance of Monseigneur Maigrot than at his energy in combating the rites, and his courage in protesting that he would recognise the Holy See alone for a judge in this question. The firmness and apostolic independence of the bishop offended the pride of the Chinese monarch, who was weak enough to get into a passion, and give utterance to menaces which were not effectual in inducing his opponent to acknowledge that the Chinese ceremonies contained nothing contrary to the Christian faith. On this point his conviction was too deep for it to be possible to him to temporise, and this conviction gave him the courage to resist the imperial will, and not to allow himself to be deterred by the fear of the danger he might thereby incur.

The attitude maintained by the Patriarch of Antioch and the Bishop of Conon so much exasperated the Emperor that every one began to dread the effects of his anger; and at length, after the storm had been threatening in hoarse murmurs for several days, it burst forth on the 3rd of August, in the shape of two imperial decrees. The first was addressed to Monseigneur Maigrot, and commanded him, with expressions of strong displeasure, to retire to the interior of the Jesuits' residence at Pekin; the second was for the Patriarch of

Antioch, and intimated that he was to make immediate preparation for a return to Europe.

Monseigneur Maigrot complied with the orders of the Emperor, and retired to the Jesuits' House; but he was no sooner there than he was arrested with several other ecclesiastics belonging to the suite of the Patriarch of Antioch, and they were all loaded with chains, and taken before the tribunal of the Hereditary Prince, where they were subjected to many humiliating interrogatories, and the most insulting treatment. Little was wanting, indeed, for the prelate to have been condemned to death; and, on the report of the Prince, the Emperor issued on the following morning a decree of banishment against him. Two Christians and a catechist were at the same time beaten with rods, and exiled to Mantchuria.

The bishop indeed received from the Legate Apostolic a letter expressive of approbation of his conduct, and of encouragement under the trials to which he was subjected; but he had to leave the empire, and not being allowed even to go to Macao, took refuge on board an English ship, and having at length landed in Ireland, wrote to the Pope in 1708 to announce his return. He proposed to retire to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris; but he had been there only a short time, when he was sent for to Rome, by Clement XI., to give an account of all that had taken place in China. He reached that capital in 1709, was received in the most honourable manner, and he gave the Pope a full account of the state of affairs, copies of his narrative being deposited in the Casanata Library. He continued to reside at Rome, living on a pension granted him by Clement XI. and afterwards increased by Innocent XIII.; and Benedict XIII. manifested no less esteem and good

will towards him. He died in 1730, and was interred without any pomp, as he had himself requested, in the French church of Trinità del Monte, where an inscription was placed to his honour.

Picot, in his article inserted in the "Biographie Universelle," on the life of this prelate, not only defends him from the reproach of ignorance, but also shows how falsely he had been accused of Jansenism. "This prelate," he says, "led at Rome a most edifying life; was very moderate in his expenses, charitable to the poor, and entirely devoted to exercises of piety. In some historical dictionaries, he is charged with having intrigued in favour of Jansenism; but this charge appears to have no solid foundation. Maigrot always submitted to the decisions of the Holy See, and several of the letters he wrote from China show how far he was from the spirit of sectarianism, or of innovation. He was opposed to the Jesuits of China on a point where he believed them to be really in the wrong, but he expressed himself concerning them with reserve and moderation." *

The banishment of the Bishop of Conon and the incarceration of several missionaries was not the only mischief occasioned by this sudden gust of persecution. In a new edict, the Emperor had taken a step tending to put a stop to the propagation of the faith and compromise the future prospects of the missionaries. He had ordered that all preachers of the Gospel now in China, as well as those who should hereafter come to it, should be obliged to provide themselves with letters of authorisation from him; and that these letters should only be granted on condition of their declaring their

* Biographie Universelle, p. 236.

approbation of the honours rendered to Confucius, and their resolution never to return to Europe.

This edict evidently rendered null and void the preceding one, by which the Emperor had granted his subjects religious liberty, and it tended to deprive China altogether of her Christian pastors. Several of the missionaries found themselves at once banished by it from the empire; and others, who ventured to remain, had to hide themselves from the pursuit of the mandarins. The Jesuits were almost the only missionaries who accepted the Imperial letters patent *; and the strange and unhappy position in which they found themselves must be ascribed chiefly to their own imprudence in having appealed to the Emperor, and thus constituted him, in some measure, an arbiter in the controversy.†

From the humiliating state of restraint in which they were now placed to a positive prohibition against remaining any longer in the Chinese territory, there was but one step; and that step, as we shall see, was taken almost immediately after the death of Khang-Hi.

The Patriarch of Antioch, as soon as he had received the Emperor's order to that effect, began his preparations for quitting China, where, to his great grief, he had to leave the missions distracted by the most fatal dissensions, without being able to contribute to the restoration of harmony among them.

As, however, there were some affairs in Pekin, which he thought it his duty to put in order before his departure, he did not set off on his return journey till the 28th of August; and this involuntary delay in executing the

* Picot, "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique," vol. i. p. 43.

† Luquet, p. 166.

monarch's orders did not render the cardinal more pleasing in his eye.

With a heavy heart did the legate quit Pekin; for he foresaw the afflictions that were about to be drawn upon the missions by the late Imperial decree. His journey was a toilsome and melancholy one; and he had no sooner arrived at Nankin than he found that his forebodings were about to be realised. Some of the missionaries had obtained the letters patent, after having pledged themselves to teach nothing contrary to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors, and taken an oath never to return to Europe. Those who refused to do so were already the objects of all kinds of ill-treatment from the mandarins; they were arrested, loaded with chains, and dragged to Canton or Macao.

The patriarch could not but deeply mourn the anarchy existing amongst the preachers of the Gospel, but he never swerved from the firm stand he had made against idolatry, and from the convictions he had maintained in the presence of the Emperor and the idolatrous court; and as he considered it highly necessary that the missionaries should have a certain rule of conduct, in case of being called to make profession of their faith before the tribunals, he determined to publish his celebrated mandate. He did not think it prudent, after all that had passed at Pekin, to publish the constitution of Clement XI., and he preferred drawing on his own head all the anger of the Emperor to exciting the monarch's enmity towards the Holy See. He convoked, therefore, all the missionaries present in the town of Nankin; and, after a pathetic address to them, in which he described the state of religion in China, he read a mandate, in which he energetically prohibited the criminal cere-

monies so often mentioned; and afterwards, in fulfilment of the duties of his office, made all the regulations he judged necessary to vindicate the holiness of the Christian religion, preserve the purity of its worship untainted by superstition, and provide for the safety of the new converts, as well as of their guides and pastors.

"This mandate," says the Bishop of Hesebon*, "was far from putting an end to the differences among the missionaries;" and it must be owned, they often found themselves in a false position with respect to the conduct they had to observe. Monseigneur de Tournon had, as we have said, in order to avoid bringing the Pope and the Emperor into direct collision, published the papal decree merely in his own name; and the adoption of the course therein enjoined would evidently expose the infant Church to a most injurious persecution. In this perplexity the missionaries, who were of opinion that the ceremonies might be tolerated, had recourse to the only method by which they could satisfy their consciences; they appealed from the judgment of the legate to that of the Sovereign Pontiff himself.

Their appeal was rejected by Clement XI. on the 25th of September following, and the mandate declared conformable to his decree of 1704, and no less obligatory; and in order to insure its execution, he had it communicated by the assessor of the holy office, to the Generals of the Orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustin, St. Francis, and the Society of Jesus.

Under these circumstances, Father Tamburini, the General of the Order, gave in his submission as unreservedly as could be desired. There was sitting, at

* Luquet, "Lettre à Monseigneur l'Evéque de Langrès," p. 166.

this epoch, in Rome, a general assembly of deputies from all the provinces of the order; as soon as the Pope's decree was made known, the assembly passed unanimously a solemn act, declaratory of its inviolable obedience to the Holy See; and they subsequently proceeded, *en masse*, headed by their general, to throw themselves at the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and there made a protestation of submission, so touching and beautiful, that Clement, it is said, could not restrain his tears. Father Tamburini concluded his speech in these words:

"If, nevertheless, there should be any one found amongst us at any future time, in any part of the world, who should (which may God forbid) have other sentiments, and hold different language, — for the prudence of man cannot always prevent such occurrences amongst such a vast number of persons—the General declares, and protests, in the name of the society, that he rejects and renounces him, regarding him as deserving of chastisement, and not worthy to be acknowledged as a true son of the Society of Jesus."

After having quoted this memorable declaration, the modern apologist of the Jesuits adds, "Nothing can be more explicit than these words. The missionaries ought to have adopted them as their rule of conduct; but they sought to elude, by subtleties, the pontifical decision." *

On his side, Pope Clement the XI. now expressed himself in a more severe manner. He had declared expressly, that the matter was settled — that the apostolic decisions having been confirmed, as well as the mandate of the Cardinal de Tournon, there was nothing more to be done than humbly to obey them. He had learned, he says, with the most profound grief, that many

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. pp. 52, 53.

of the missionaries were, under various pretexts, eluding the observance of them. To cut short all these subterfuges and tergiversations, more worthy of cunning sectaries than of true apostles, Clement most strictly enjoins all archbishops, bishops, vicars apostolic, missionaries, and ecclesiastics whatsoever, even of the Society of Jesus, under penalty of suspension, interdict, and excommunication reserved to the Holy See, the faithful observation of the apostolic mandate concerning the Chinese ceremonies.* All missionaries are required to take, individually, the following oath, afterwards to be forwarded to Rome by their superior:—

"I, (such a one,) missionary sent or destined to China, or to such and such a kingdom or province, by the Apostolic See, or by a superior, according to the powers conferred on him by the Apostolic See, will obey fully and faithfully the precept and apostolic mandate concerning the Chinese rites and ceremonies, contained in the constitution of our very holy father the Pope Clement XI. on this subject, in which the formula of this oath is prescribed; which mandate is perfectly well known to me by the entire reading of the said constitution; and I will observe it exactly, absolutely, inviolably, and I will put it in execution without any tergiversation. If, on the contrary, from which may God preserve me, I should contravene it in any way whatsoever, as often as that happens, so often do I declare myself liable to the penalties imposed by the said constitution. This, laying my hand on the

* Rohrbacher, "Histoire Universelle de l'Église Catholique," vol. xi. p. 651.

Holy Gospels, I promise, vow, and swear, and so may God and the holy Evangelists help me! (So and so,) "Signed with my own hand." *

The Emperor Khang-hi had no sooner been informed of the mandate published at Nankin by Monseigneur de Tournon, than he became so irritated against the patriarch that he had him arrested and carried to Macao, with an order to the Portuguese to keep him a prisoner. He was very ill-treated by them, and it is melancholy to record, subjected in this Christian town to all kinds of insults; he, the representative of the Holy See. All who had the courage to obey him, and to uphold as he did the interests of Christianity, became the companions of his exile and his chains, but nothing could overcome the fortitude of the patriarch, nor of the Dominicans associated with him in his trials.

It was while he was thus shut up in an obscure prison, rejoicing that he had been found worthy to suffer for the cause of Christian worship, the Holy See, less for the purpose of rewarding his zeal, than for that of authorising his ministry still more strongly among foreign nations, raised him to the dignity of cardinal.

The news of this elevation brought to Macao, on the 17th of August, 1709, completed his ruin. Six Dominican monks, who had been commissioned on the part of the Pontiff to announce it to him, were shut up in prison with him; his imprisonment was rendered more close than ever, and he was only saved from starvation by the food brought to him secretly by an aged woman, and by drinking the water from a well into which the sea-water entered.

* This oath is still obligatory on all missionaries on their arrival in China. We ourselves took it at Macao, in the year 1839.

The eminent dignity of the legate had therefore only served to tighten his bonds, and the Dominicans also had to endure an increase of their trials. In the acts of the provincial chapter held at Manilla in 1710, we find a testimony to their courage and fidelity.

The provincial of the Philippines expresses himself thus: — "We hereby make known that, within these few months, letters have been received not only from our religious missionaries in the vast Empire of China, but also from his Eminence Cardinal Charles Thomas de Tournon, and, by the contents of all letters, as well as the unanimous voice of all who come from that country, whether Christians or pagans, how unfailing has been the constancy of our missionaries, tried as they have been by calumny, exile, and the greatest persecution. The illustrious head of the mission, the cardinal legate, has been attacked, and almost overwhelmed, by indescribable sufferings; since his recent accession of dignity his guards and his chains have been doubled, but no one of our missionaries has forsaken him; all have remained faithful, supporting with invincible patience the same inconveniences and insults, the same toil and hunger. Two only having escaped from the hands of the satellites, and hitherto avoided being captured, are secretly traversing those vast countries to raise up the new Christians who have fallen, to strengthen the weak, and to comfort and help the timid."

Clement XI., affected by the painful situation of his faithful legate, addressed a letter to the king of Portugal, to inform him that the Captain-General of Macao, and his officers, had allowed themselves to be made instruments of the persecution raised against the cardinal.

After having prayed the monarch to institute an inquiry into the subject of the ill-treatment of the cardinal, to put an end to it, and to punish the guilty in an exemplary manner, the Pope added —

"Although we are persuaded that you cannot since our preceding letters have received any answer from the Indies touching that affair, and that we entertain no doubt that your Viceroy of Goa will promptly execute your orders; yet nevertheless, the excessive grief caused to us by the news coming from that country constrains us to represent to your majesty the amount of injury, both of old and of recent date, which your officers have as daringly as impiously inflicted on the dignity of our Legate-Apostolic, and which they have even continued since they have learned his promotion to the cardinalate. The last letters from the East, dated from the month of December 1708, and also that of September 1709, inform us that there has been published at Macao an edict of the Viceroy of Goa, forbidding, in the severest manner, any one to show respect or obedience to the Legate-Apostolic. According to this edict, so injurious to your royal authority, every ecclesiastic or layman who should dare to manifest obedience to the representative of the Holy See, would be immediately thrown into the prison of Goa. After the publication of this edict four monks of the order of Preaching Friars, three of whom were priests, were actually arrested and carried off for preferring their duty to this prohibition, and that while they were praying in the church, whilst the holy Sacrament was exhibited for the adoration of the faithful. One of them, who was robed in his sacerdotal vestments was, to the scandal of all beholders, carried in this state

to the citadel; the populace and the very pagans shuddering with horror at the sacrilege," &c.

The Pontiff, while he was uttering these complaints to the King of Portugal, little thought that the cardinal was lying dead in his prison at Macao. He died, it was said, of a sudden attack, having the appearance of apoplexy (June 8, 1710). On learning this event, the Vicar of Christ communicated the intelligence to the Sacred College, and in the Secret Consistory of 1711 he spoke thus of the legate:—"Venerable brothers, we have often in this place deplored public evils; to-day our tears fall for a private loss — a loss to us and to you, and which may also in some measure be regarded as a calamity to the Universal Church. You understand already that I allude to the afflicting news of the death of the Cardinal Charles Thomas de Tournon. We have lost, venerable brothers, a zealous champion of the Christian faith, an intrepid defender of the pontifical authority, a powerful support of ecclesiastical discipline, a great light and ornament of your order. We have lost a son, and you a brother, worn out by the long series of labours he had undergone for Jesus Christ; and the trials, the insults, the opprobrium, that he suffered with invincible patience and courage, tried him as gold is tried in the fire.

"All this, however, — if we look at it in the light of the faith, — far from adding to our grief, must, on the contrary, soften its bitterness, and afford us Christian consolation; for the apostle warns us that we must 'not sorrow as men who have no hope.'

"Have we not cause to believe that the death of this pious cardinal was most precious in the sight of the Lord? Do we not remember with what ardent zeal for

the faith, with what prompt obedience, as soon as the Lord, through us, called him to the apostolic ministry, he quitted the court, the city, his relations, his friends, and all that nature renders dear to us, to expose himself to the inconveniences and perils of a very long and painful voyage? The same charity in Christ that urged him on and sustained him in those remote regions, and while journeying there by land and sea, made him prefer his duty to self-preservation, and raised him above human fears. He proclaimed the law of the Lord to the princes and kings of the earth, and was not confounded. Filled with a holy joy in the midst of his tribulation, he has afforded to the Church a spectacle infinitely pleasing to God and his angels. Let us never forget the example of firmness of soul and generous contempt for human grandeur which has been displayed for us in his actions and his letters.

"When, as an acknowledgment of his important services, we raised him to the dignity of the cardinalate, he wrote to us that he only accepted and regarded it as imposing a new obligation on him, to combat even to the shedding of his blood for Jesus Christ and his Church; but he added, that he would willingly renounce the honours of the purple, rather than abandon the missions of China to return to Europe. Who also would not admit the rare piety he has displayed in his testament, by which he has given his money to the poor, his cross only to his relations, and all the remainder of his property for the support of ministers commissioned to labour for the propagation of the faith amongst infidels? By this act alone he has shown us what ought to be the testamentary dispositions of those who, conse-

crated to the service of the Church, have lived by the altar.

"Finally, what fills us with hope that God will have accepted his sacrifice is the constancy so worthy of the sacerdotal virtue and apostolic zeal displayed in all the conduct, and through all the trials, of the holy cardinal. Hunger, thirst, imprisonment, persecution, and ill-treatment could not induce him to abandon the work of God. To his latest breath he remained always equal to himself. He has fought well — he has finished his course — he has kept the faith. May we not hope that the Just Judge will have bestowed on him the crown destined for him. Yes, doubtless we must think so.

"Since, however, human frailty will not allow any life to be free from some mixture of imperfection, Christian charity obliges us to offer prayers and sacrifices for the soul of the deceased cardinal. We have already done so in private, but in order to do honour to the memory of extraordinary virtue, we will also have public and solemn obsequies celebrated in our pontifical chapel on the day we shall appoint. We feel confident, also, that the Cardinal de Tournon, who so tenderly loved the mission of Christ during his life, will show favour to it in heaven, and that he will obtain from the mercy of the Lord that the tares sown by the enemy in that field may be rooted out, and that the harvest may become every day more abundant for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith."

It is painful, after this touching eulogium from the mouth of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to quote the words of a writer of the Society of Jesus. It is in this light manner that the Father d'Avrigny expresses himself

concerning the illustrious victim of the dissensions of the missionaries: —

"Though it cannot be said that the memory of M. de Tournon was held very precious in China, it must be owned that nothing was omitted to render it respectable in Europe.

"The Holy Father delivered on the 14th October, 1841, a magnificent eulogium upon him, in the presence of all the cardinals; and an Italian pronounced his funeral oration, which was afterwards translated into French, and enriched with many notes. The orator says, in this oration, charming things about the zeal, candour, charity, and mildness of his hero, and indeed makes him out to be quite a perfect man — a saint ready for canonisation. May the Lord, to whom alone it belongs to read the heart, have judged of him thus."

We have ourselves visited, at Macao, the house on the sea shore, where the cardinal was imprisoned, and where he yielded his last breath; and the Portuguese colony has preserved to this day the remembrance of the atrocious persecutions with which this prince of the Church was so pitilessly pursued. His long suffering and his sudden death gave rise to the most malignant rumours, both in Europe and Asia; the spirit of party seized eagerly upon them, and even proceeded to the extremity of accusing the Jesuits of having had him poisoned.* We find in a modern historian, who neglects nothing for

* At his death a satirical print appeared, in which a Jesuit was represented as snatching the hat from the head of the dying cardinal, and the motto of the print was—

"The clothes belong by law to the executioner."

— "Dictionnaire Historique, par Chaudon et Delandine," vol. xii. p. 122.

their justification, these words*, "The cardinal had complained at various times of the obstacles the Jesuits placed in his way; he avowed himself their antagonist, and as it was known what high credit the missionaries enjoyed with the Emperor, they were severely blamed for the ill-treatment inflicted upon him by the Portuguese. In the eyes of the Jansenists, Tournon was a martyr, and the Jesuits his executioners." "With what fury," says the Jansenist Coudrette, "did not the society persecute, in the East Indies, Monseigneur Maigrot, the Bishop of Conon! Even the legate of the Holy See, Cardinal de Tournon, was not spared, and it is well known to what excesses the Jesuits were carried with respect to the holy cardinal, of whom, properly speaking, they may be considered the murderers."

To this grave accusation their historian replies, "There is no kind of proof, direct or indirect, to corroborate these imputations. We cannot so much as find a hint of any advice given to Khang-Hi, or of the least encouragement afforded to the Portuguese. The Jesuits did remain neutral in these circumstances, and their neutrality, which, from the point of view of human policy, might be considered discreet, is certainly a fault in the eyes of history and religion. The cardinal-legate was the declared adversary of their opinions, but they owed respect to his rank and his virtues, and the best means of manifesting that respect would have been to employ their credit to protect his liberty. They did not like to incur the risk of interfering between him and the monarch of China, and this indiffe-

* Cretineau-Joly, "Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus," vol. v. p. 49.

rence was followed by consequences which afforded a pretext for calumny." Rohrbacher, the historian of the society, after having quoted the passage given above, observes: —

"Let us be permitted to add a word on our own account. After having examined the whole of this controversy with more leisure and attention, we cannot say how much we have been grieved to find that there were no better grounds of excuse for the religious order which we love from the bottom of our hearts, and so much the more, because in consequence of this affectionate partiality to them, we have been really unjust towards the Cardinal de Tournon and the Bishop Maigrot in the first edition of this history, a circumstance that we now most deeply regret."*

* Rohrbacher, "Histoire Universelle de l'Église Catholique," vol. ii. p. 640.

CHAP. VII.

FATHER DE VISDELOU. — BULL OF CLEMENT XI. — NEW APOSTOLIC LEGATION TO CHINA. — MONSEIGNEUR DE MEZZABARBA AT LISBON. — BRILLIANT RECEPTION OF THE LEGATE-APOSTOLIC AT MACAO. — THE VICE-PROVINCIAL OF THE JESUITS. — A TYPHOON AT MACAO. — FÊTE GIVEN TO MEZZABARBA IN THE GREEN ISLAND. — DECLARATION OF FATHER LAURÉATT, VISITOR OF THE JESUITS. — RELATIONS OF THE LEGATE WITH THE MANDARINS OF CANTON. — DEPARTURE OF THE LEGATION FOR THE CAPITAL. — RECEPTION OF A RUSSIAN EMBASSY AT PEKIN. — ARRIVAL OF MONSEIGNEUR DE MEZZABARBA IN THE ENVIRONS OF THE CAPITAL. — FIRST DIFFICULTIES WITH THE ENVOYS OF THE EMPEROR. — INTERVIEW OF THE LEGATE WITH THE EMPEROR. — IMPERIAL DISSERTATIONS. — NOTIFICATION OF THE BULL OF CLEMENT XI. TO KHANG-HI. — JUDGMENT OF THE EMPEROR UPON THIS PONTIFICAL DECISION. — LAST AUDIENCE GRANTED TO MEZZABARBA. — LOQUACITY AND SARCASTIC REMARKS OF KHANG-HI. — RETURN OF THE LEGATE-APOSTOLIC TO MACAO, AND THEN TO ROME. — DISPUTES IN EUROPE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE LEGATION. — BENEDICT XIV. PUTS A FINAL TERMINATION TO THE QUESTION OF THE CHINESE RITES.

DURING the course of the events we have been describing, the Jesuits had remained divided on the question of the Chinese rites into the two schools of the Fathers Ricci and Longobardi, the latter being faithfully represented by Father De Visdelou, who had been sent to the Celestial Empire by Louis XIV. with the Father Gerbillon, De Fontaney, Le Comte, and Bouvet, in order to establish there the French mission. As he had applied himself earnestly to the study of the language and writing of the Chinese, he surprised the

natives so much by his rapid progress, that one of the sons of Khang-Hi could not help expressing his admiration of him in a eulogium which, according to the Chinese custom, he sent to him written on a piece of silk.

Visdelou did not delay to apply the knowledge he had acquired to purposes of high scientific and literary utility. Following the example of those of his predecessors who had searched for historical information in the books of China, he busied himself in collecting information from them, concerning the central and northern countries of Asia. He had the good fortune to be the first discoverer of the most authentic sources of the history of those hitherto unknown nations, and that was the origin of his "History of Tartary." To him, also, we are indebted for an interpretation of the famous inscription of Si-Ngan-Fou, which authenticates the introduction of Christianity into China during the seventh century.

Visdelou joined the party of the missionaries who were opposed to the Chinese ceremonies, and the depth and extent of his studies on this special subject gave great weight to his opinion, in a controversy depending so much on the interpretation of certain texts and the appreciation of certain practices, scarcely to be judged by any but those who were thoroughly versed in the traditions and monuments of the ancients. He rendered himself very useful to the Cardinal de Tournon, and was involved in his disgrace. Clement XI. intrusted to him the administration of several provinces of China, appointed him Vicar-Apostolic, and, a month afterwards, Bishop of Clandiopolis, but the legitimacy of his claim to the titles was contested; for he had received episco-

pal consecration from the hands of the Cardinal de Tournon, in the prison of Macao, and in the night, as the early Christian apostles had done formerly in the catacombs of pagan Rome.

Forced to quit China where he could no longer live in peace nor labour with any effect for the salvation of souls, Visdelou embarked for Pondicherry, where he received a brief from Clement XI., approving his conduct. He resided eight-and-twenty years at this place, without ever quitting it but once, when he went to Madras; and he was lodged, clothed, and fed, in the same simple and frugal manner as the Capuchins with whom he had taken up his abode. He died at Pondicherry, in 1737, and was buried in the church of St. Francis; Father Norbert, Capuchin of the province of Lorraine, pronouncing a funeral oration over him. "He deserved," says Abel Rémusat, "to have had a more judicious panegyrist."

The missions of China were still in a distressingly agitated state, and Clement XI. was unwearied in his efforts to establish a uniformity of practice among the preachers of the Gospel in these remote countries. After having confirmed the mandate of the Cardinal de Tournon, he interdicted the bishops and missionaries from making any appeal concerning the points regulated by it, and since at this period the dissentient parties were in the habit of attacking each other in pamphlets and other writings, which they took every means of bringing into circulation, and which were far more calculated to foment strife than to elicit the truth, he forbade the publication of any of these without the permission of the Holy See: a measure of decided

prudence, in which all true friends of the Church rejoiced.

The execution of the new decree having encountered some difficulties, the Pontiff "touched," as he said, "with profound grief," at length issued his Bull "*Ex illa die*," which prescribed the exact observance of the decree, without regard to any of the pretexts that had been alleged for the purpose of evading its authority; and, in order to insure obedience, he declared that every such evasion should be punished with the greater excommunication. He declared, at the same time, that all missionaries were to take the oath of which we have given the formula, and that their power should be suspended until they had complied with this formality.

Clement XI., however, taking warning by the past, did not still feel quite sure of the execution of his decree, and the sequel showed that his fears were not without foundation. He resolved, therefore, to send a new legate to China, in the hope that this negotiation would be more fortunate than that of the Cardinal de Tournon.

There was nothing in such a mission as this to offer any temptation to motives of cupidity or self interest; it required a man dead to worldly things, and who should unite to the most consummate prudence, a courage that was ready to do and to dare all for the cause of Jesus Christ.

The long sufferings, the numberless tribulations, and the premature death of Cardinal de Tournon, were still held in most vivid remembrance at Rome, and there were therefore found but few candidates for an office that would expose him who filled it to similar miseries, and oblige him to throw himself, at all hazards, into the

midst of a mêlée in which the various parties were more than ever embittered against each other.

Monseigneur Mezzabarba, however, regarding only the safety of his brethren, the honour of the Holy See, and the interests of religion, devoted himself with disinterested courage to this perilous enterprise, and, in order to increase his authority, the Pope conferred on him the title of Patriarch of Alexandria. The new Legate set out from Rome in 1719, with a numerous and imposing suite, amongst whom were four Barnabites, men as much distinguished for their learning as for the soundness and purity of their religious character, who were destined for the court of Khang-Hi; these were the Fathers Honorat Ferrari of Verceil, Alexandre of Bergame, Sigismond Calchi of Milan, and Salvator Rosini of Nice. In order to avoid giving any offence to Portugal, the Legate was desired to go by the way of Lisbon, and immediately on his arrival he took care that his credentials as legate and vicar-apostolic should be presented. He considered this a necessary precaution on account of the asserted rights of patronage of the kings of Portugal, and the pretended primacy of the Archbishop of Goa over all the missions of the East, pretexts which had been employed to persecute the Cardinal de Tournon. Both during his stay at Lisbon and at his departure, Monsieur de Mezzabarba was overwhelmed with honours; he embarked again on the 24th of March, 1720, and, after a voyage of six months, during which he suffered a great deal, he arrived, with his numerous suite, in sight of the town of Macao; but the wind having failed when the vessel was within two leagues of the port, they had to cast anchor for fear of being drawn into the currents.

There is an account extant of the legation of Mezzabarba to the Emperor of China, which commences with the following epigraph: —

"Hear this, ye old men, and give ear all ye inhabitants of the land. Hath this been in your days, or even in the days of your fathers?" Although these events may not seem probable, "tell your children of them, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation, &c."* But notwithstanding this pompous epigraph the book is filled with the most insignificant details, and is almost intolerably tiresome to read; it has been by some attributed to Father Viani Servite, confessor of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and by others to Father Fabri, the secretary of the Legate, and it is unfavourable to the Jesuits. But we shall draw upon it for some information, as, from our long familiarity with Chinese manners, it will be easy for us to correct what is erroneous.

Whilst the vessel was detained by the calm at a distance from the port, the captain went ashore in a boat, with the despatches from the court of Lisbon, and, on his return, he delivered to the Legate letters from the governor and the bishop of Macao, complimenting him on his happy arrival. He also received, at the same time, an address from the senate, apologising for not sending immediately to bring him and all his suite on shore, on the ground that they required time to receive him in a manner suitable to his dignity and to their own wishes.

Already, it seemed, the passage of the Legate, by the way of Portugal, had produced a good effect, since the

* Joel i. 2, 3.

Portuguese authorities were thus favourably disposed towards him.

On the following day, the disembarkation was effected with great pomp, with a display of respect to which the representatives of the Holy See had been little accustomed in their missions to the East. Several boats, richly decorated, were sent to fetch him and his suite, and the Legate on his landing found the governor, the bishop, the whole body of the senate, and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Macao, waiting to receive him. He had no sooner set foot on shore than the military music burst out; the garrison, which was drawn up on the quay, presented arms; all the bells of the town rang out, and he was accompanied to the residence prepared for him, amidst the firing of the cannon from the fortress and from all the vessels in the roads. The streets through which he passed were hung with rich tapestries and strewn with flowers, and there was placed for him in the grand saloon of the episcopal residence a magnificent throne, on which he was seated to receive the compliments of the notables of Macao, amongst whom was remarked Father Monteiro, the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits.

When the ceremony was over and the Legate was retiring to his apartment, he found an opportunity of saying in a low voice to Monteiro, who followed him closely, that though his presence was personally agreeable to him, the vice-provincial must not forget what was at present his position, and that of his seminary and college.

The governor of Macao placed a guard of honour at the door of the palace, and the municipality fur-

nished him with all the attendants of which he had need.

Father Monteiro did not forget the obliging hint Mezzabarba had given him, and he presented himself in a spirit of humility before the Patriarch, and prayed for absolution from the censures passed against him by the Cardinal de Tournon, as well as for the power to absolve his brethren from them, and for the removal of the interdict issued against his church, his college, and his seminary. All these favours were granted him, and after that he took the oath *Ex illâ die*, required by the constitution.

The Legate afterwards reconciled to the Church all those who had been struck with ecclesiastical censures for having taken part in the detention of the Cardinal de Tournon; the pardon was general, and all hearts seemed to be united by the sweet bonds of Christian charity, while preparations were made for a grand fête to thank Providence for this happy prelude to reconciliation and peace.

The day chosen by Mezzabarba to go in grand pontifical state to the cathedral to chant Te Deum was the 29th of September, the anniversary of his elevation to the dignity of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. It was also that of the feast of St. Michael the archangel, whom Clement XI. had chosen as the patron of his new legate to the Celestial Empire. The choice of such a patron had a precise signification, and clearly indicated that Mezzabarba was sent to China to combat, and maintain the great struggle between good and evil; and to cast down the spirit of darkness and of lies.

All was ready for the ceremony of the Te Deum, when on the very day on which it was to take place, the

town of Macao was visited by one of the terrible hurricanes called typhoons, which prevail occasionally in these latitudes, and whose violence it is scarcely possible to conceive without having witnessed them.

The wind blows and bellows with such fury, and sky, earth, and sea seem commingled in such wild uproar, that one might think the end of the world had come, and that our poor planet was about to be shivered to atoms.

People barricade themselves in their houses, and no one would dare to go out, lest he should be blown away like a wisp of straw. The ceremony of the Te Deum, therefore, could not take place, for no one would have had the courage to go to the cathedral; but the disappointment after all had a happy effect; for, as the Te Deum was deferred for two days, it took place on the feast of the Guardian Angel; and this permitted the patriarch of Alexandria, instead of presenting himself lance in hand, and under the warlike symbols of the redoubtable St. Michael, to appear by the side of the gracious figure of the angelic guardian, guiding with tender solicitude the steps of inexperience and weakness.

The Legate Apostolic rested for ten days at Macao, and during this time displayed so much wisdom and moderation, that the hardest hearts were softened, and the most violent tempers soothed to gentleness.

He was himself treated with every distinction due to his dignity, and surrounded with so many attentions and manifestations of filial veneration, that it seemed as if the Portuguese were desirous of making amends with this new representative of the Holy See for the

rigour shown to the Cardinal de Tournon, whose coffin still remained in the colony.

The Jesuits were not the last to make a public display of joy at the arrival of the Legate Apostolic, and they gave a beautiful "Family Festival" in their country-house at the Green Island; the most lovely spot to be found in the neighbourhood of Macao.

This is a little islet situated in the inner port, at a short distance from the shore, whose rich verdure and fine umbrageous trees have procured for it that name. You can see from thence on the opposite shore, a wild rock, rudely carved into a grotto, where, according to the tradition of the country, the poet Camoens used to like to retire to meditate in solitude, and abandon himself to poetical inspiration in the sight of the boundless ocean. The illustrious and unfortunate Portuguese poet has given his name to the rock, which is still called the Grotto of Camoens.

A rich compatriot of the author of the Lusiad, animated doubtless by the noblest sentiments of patriotism, has exerted himself to beautify this celebrated rock by laying out gardens upon it; but he would have done better to leave it in the wildness and desolation of Nature.

The Green Island was then the property of the Jesuits of Macao*, who had built upon it a country house and a charming little chapel; and it was in this delicious solitude that the Patriarch of Alexandria received the hospitality of those who had been

* After the destruction of the Order, it was given to the Portuguese Lazarists, who had succeeded the Jesuits in the Mission of China. It belongs to them still, and during our stay at Macao it was our favourite walk.

accused of being the implacable enemies of the Patriarch of Antioch.

Monseigneur de Mezzabarba quitted Macao, delighted with his stay there, and full of hopes for the good success of the difficult mission confided to him.

When about to embark for Canton he was accompanied by the bishop as far as the sea, and saluted by all the guns of the town and of the vessels in the port.

Several of the most considerable persons in the town, and the captain and officers of the vessel that had brought him to Macao, embarked with him to escort him as far as Canton, and at the entrance of the Canton river, the Legate met a beautiful mandarin junk, which the viceroy had sent, and placed at his disposal.

There were on board the Fathers Laureati, Visitor of the Jesuits, Fernandez, Visitor of the Franciscans, and Pallario, Provincial of the Augustines, with several other missionaries of various orders, who had come to meet him; and Father Laureati now took the Legate aside, and presenting a writing in Latin, told him that he ratified with his lips and with his heart what it contained.

Its contents were as follows: —

"I, John Laureati, of the Society of Jesus, with the view of taking away all suspicion that might attach to my sentiments, promise before God, who penetrates the heart, and swear that I will never, directly or indirectly, neither myself nor by any other, hinder in any manner whatever the execution of the orders of our Holy Father, Pope Clement XI., on the subject of the Chinese Rites.

I swear also, to execute them with sincerity, and to employ all my strength and understanding to aid Monseigneur Charles Ambrose de Mezzabarba, sent to China on this account, in quality of legate *à latere*.—This I promise, vow, and swear, of my own accord, and without being required; and so may God help me and his Holy Gospel.

(Signed) "JOHN LAUREATI,
"Visitor of the Society of Jesus in China and Japan."

This declaration of the chief of the Jesuits was received with paternal kindness by the Legate, for he liked to persuade himself that the former adversaries of the Cardinal de Tournon would be amicable to him. So far he had been successful in his relations with the missionaries, for he was on known ground, upon which he could advance with firm step, though with prudence and circumspection. But he was now about to enter a new world, where all was unknown and strange; and his relations with the mandarins were to be like dark and tortuous labyrinths, in which he would be likely, continually, to lose his way.

From the moment of his arrival at Canton, the Patriarch of Alexandria hastened to put himself into communication with the prefect, the governor, and the viceroy, in order to discuss with them officially the question of his journey to Pekin. This then, was the beginning of his embarrassments. The missionaries resident at Canton were unavoidably his mediators, interpreters, and the conductors of the conferences; and it certainly appears, that they did not always exercise these functions so as to promote the objects of the legation.

One day, Monseigneur de Mezzabarba went to visit

the prefect of the town, who, after some complimentary remarks, began to question him upon the views and purposes of his mission, since, as he said, it was his duty to send a report on the subject to the Emperor.

"I have come here to-day," answered the Legate, "solely for the purpose of paying my respects to you. If you desire to discuss the subject you have alluded to, it is better that you should put your questions in writing, and that I should reply in the same manner." The prefect approved this proposal, and after having spoken with the viceroy and the governor, addressed on the following day a despatch to the Legate, containing the following queries:—

"1st. For what reason did the Pope send your Excellency to China?

"2ndly. Has not your Excellency anything new to say to the Emperor on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff?

"3rdly. A long time ago the Cardinal de Tournon came here and held disputations on certain points of doctrine. Did the cardinal in this act of his own accord, without an order from the Pope, or by his order?

"4thly. Some years ago the Emperor sent to the Pope two religious men, of whom he never afterwards heard any news. Two years after that he sent two more, named Raymond and Provana; but though twenty years have elapsed since then, he has never had any answer.

"5thly. Has your Excellency anything to say of yourself, upon the subject of your legation?"

The Patriarch of Alexandria replied to these questions in order, and in the following manner:—

"1st. The Sovereign Pontiff has sent me hither, chiefly to enquire very respectfully after the health of the

Emperor, and to thank him for all the favour he has shown to the missionaries and the missions.

"2ndly. I am entrusted with a letter from the Pope, which I am to deliver closed and sealed into the Emperor's hands.

"3rdly. The Cardinal de Tournon, in all that concerned religion, acted only by command of the Sovereign Pontiff, by whom he was really sent to China.

"4thly. There was no answer because the two religious men first sent both died before they reached Europe; Raymond died in Spain, before coming to Rome. As for Provana, he was at first not attended to, because he showed no credentials by which it might appear that he was really commissioned by the Emperor. As soon as he did produce those letters, he was received with all the honour due to his new character; but as the physicians declared that the state of his health would not allow him to undertake the return voyage, the Sovereign Pontiff did not choose to entrust him with his letter to the monarch of China, but relieving him of a charge that was beyond his strength, has sent me in his place to express to the Emperor the high esteem he has for the virtues which are so conspicuous in him, and the great gratitude he feels for the protection he has afforded to religion and the missionaries.

"5thly. I am ordered humbly to entreat the Emperor to allow me frequently to inform the Pope of the state of his health. I have with me skilful workmen for his service, and presents which I am charged to offer his Majesty, in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff. I am also to address to him very humble entreaties for further favours to religion." *

* Journal of the Legation of M. de Mezzabarba.

Mezzabarba had intended to explain himself clearly in writing on the principal subject of his legation, which was, to get the constitution *Ex illâ die* received in China; and he desired that he might not hereafter be reproached with not having been sufficiently sincere in his replies. But the persons who surrounded the Legate, advised him not to touch on this delicate point, for fear of awakening the susceptibilities of the Chinese, and raising obstacles to his departure for Pekin.

At last, on the 29th of October, the Patriarch of Alexandria was enabled to set out on the long journey that was to bring him to the court of the Emperor of China. The authorities of Canton had had a beautiful mandarin junk prepared for him, with a large yellow flag bearing in Chinese the words, "Ambassador from the great Country of the West to the Emperor," hoisted at the mainmast.

For the various members of the legation there were other junks, smaller, but provided with everything that could be required.

The Patriarch was escorted by the governor of Canton, the viceroy of the province, and the generals of the Tartar and Chinese forces; and the flotilla got into motion to the sound of tam-tams and of heavy discharges of musketry, and proceeded up the Tiger river as far as Nan-Kioung. The prefect of the town of Canton, in a junk resembling that of the Legate, was charged to conduct the legation as far as Pekin.

The journey was continued by land and water, not without the annoyances and embarrassments that no one can hope to escape who travels in the Celestial Empire; but the illustrious travellers were treated

all along the road with the honour due to those who were about to behold the face of the Son of Heaven.

There was not so much as a little village where the mandarin, with his copper ball, did not come and compliment them with tam-tams and fireworks; and in one of the great towns of Khiang-Si, the authorities gave the Patriarch a brilliant fête, accompanied by theatrical representations. We trust that the mandarins had the civility to choose from their immense repertory some piece that was tolerably decent.

While the Legate was thus prosecuting his journey from Canton, a Russian embassy was making its entrance into Pekin with unaccustomed pomp. The event is thus related in the Annals of the Empire:

"On the 29th of November, 1720, a Russian ambassador made his entrance into Pekin with a suite of about a hundred persons, superbly dressed in the European fashion.

"The procession was escorted by horsemen with drawn swords, a spectacle as curious as it was new and extraordinary in China.

"The letters which it brought, written in the Russian, Latin, and Mongol languages, contained these words: —

"'To the Emperor of the vast countries of Asia, to the monarch of Bogdo, to the Supreme Majesty of Kitai, — friendship and greeting:

"'In the design which I have of increasing and augmenting the bonds of connection which have been established for a long time between your majesty and our predecessors and myself, I have judged it expedient to send to your court, in quality of ambassador extraordi-

nary, Leon Ismailof, captain of my guards. I beg you to receive him in a manner conformable to the character with which he is invested, to have faith in what he shall tell you with respect to the affairs he is to treat of, as if I were speaking to you myself, and to permit him to reside at your court of Pekin, until I shall recall him.

"'From the good friend of your majesty,
"'PETER.'"

The Emperor Khang-Hi, add the Annals, having fixed the day on which he would grant the Russian ambassador a public audience, seated on his throne, and surrounded by the princes and great lords of his court (an honour that he had never yet done to any ambassador), also found means to remove the difficulty the Russian felt about submitting to the Chinese ceremonial, which consists in kneeling and striking the earth with the forehead. His contrivance was to have the Czar's letter placed on a table, and get a great mandarin to pay to it the same honours as to his own person; after which Leon Ismailoff could have no difficulty in following his example, and complying with the etiquette.*

The Legation Apostolic was nearly three months on its road, and when it reached a small town at a short distance from Pekin it was met by four great dignitaries of the court, bringing a message from the Emperor.

Mezzabarba received the imperial commands on his knees, according to the Chinese custom, and struck the

* Mailla, vol. ii. p. 336.

ground nine times with his forehead; then, in the midst of a profound silence, the envoy of the court spoke thus: —

"The Emperor desires that you will present yourself to him for the first audience in a European dress, and after that you shall have permission to dress as you please. This is the ceremonial that was arranged with the ambassador from Muscovy, who arrived a few days ago at Pekin. The Emperor wishes to address a few questions to you. According to what you said at Canton, it appears that you have come to the Central Empire solely to salute the Emperor, and thank him for his goodness to the Europeans."

The Legate being authorised to sit down, replied that he had explained in writing that he came from the Pope to entreat the permission of the Emperor for the Christians to observe the constitution *Ex illâ die*, and for himself to act as Superior of all the Missionaries.

"These demands will not be agreeable to the Emperor," was the reply; "they are contrary to his edict in favour of the Chinese ceremonies. What would the Pope say if the Emperor undertook to reform practices that have prevailed from time immemorial at Rome?"

"The Pope," answered the Legate, "undertakes to correct the errors of the Christians, not to reform the customs of the Chinese."

"But why should the Pope condemn what his predecessors have approved?"

"The facts not having been sufficiently studied, the Popes decided from wrong data; but now that the question has been examined and discussed thoroughly, it

must be decided according to the lights of reason and truth."

The envoy of the court having declared that he had now ceased to speak in the name of the Emperor, rose, and said, in a tone half solemn, half arrogant, "Now, I speak to you as a friend of the Christians; enter into your own heart and reflect. Remember what happened to De Tournon, his disgrace, his exile, his imprisonment and death. Remember Maigrot, who saw himself under the hand of the executioner. He escaped death only by the mercy of the Emperor, who thought it sufficient to banish him the kingdom. Those who undertake to walk in the same path must expect the same treatment. Explain in writing what you have to ask of the Emperor."

This first official interview with the representatives of the court threw the Patriarch into great grief and perplexity. He understood now that he would have to struggle against great difficulties, and that the hopes that he had been so fondly indulging, were very far from being realized. He did not, however, allow himself to be discouraged; he wrote boldly what he had been asked to write in the most clear and precise terms: —

"I am come in the name of the Pope humbly to supplicate the Emperor to allow the Christian religion to be exercised throughout this vast empire, in all its purity, and in the observance of the constitution *Ex illâ die*, and to grant to me the liberty of performing the functions of Superior of all the Missions in China." This declaration having been translated into Chinese, the court envoys retired, after having given orders to the mandarins of Canton, to conduct the Patriarch to the

"Park of Eternal Spring," a customary residence of the Emperor, in the environs of Pekin.

Scarcely was the legation installed in this habitation before the envoys of the court returned, bringing with them a table loaded with fruits and dainties, sent by the Emperor himself to the Legate, who prepared to receive, with the usual testimonies of respect, the reply of the Emperor to the request of the representative of the Holy See. The reply was as follows: —

"The Emperor grants to the Legate all that he asks, but on this condition only,— that he shall leave in China the Europeans long attached to the court, to whom, and not to the Chinese, it shall be permitted to observe the decree of the Pope. He shall take away all the other Europeans; and then, when he has them at Rome, he can inform them of the decree, and exercise with respect to them the functions of Superior. This is the only way in which the Emperor can permit the observance of a constitution contrary to the imperial edicts, which must be absolutely irrevocable.

"2ndly. As Maigrot is the author of the disputes which have made so much noise, it is surprising that the Legate did not bring him back to China, to render an account of his conduct and receive an exemplary punishment. The Emperor had at first intended to receive the Legate with kindness, but seeing him obstinately adhering to the two points which are most opposed to the laws of the empire, he has taken the resolution not to see him at all."

This imperial manifesto was like a clap of thunder to the Legate, and, after a moment's grave reflection, he said to the envoys that he entreated them to mediate for him with the sovereign. That while awaiting some

more favourable message, he would weigh in his mind the words of the Emperor, and pray God to afford him light as to what course would be the best for the glory of God and the welfare of the missions. The patriarch was greatly perplexed, and like a man who, while in profound darkness, feels himself gliding towards the edge of a precipice without finding anything to catch by, or seeing a ray of light. He felt that he was entangled in the meshes of all kinds of intrigues, without its being possible for him to know how to free himself from them; for, not understanding a single word of what was said about him, he was entirely in the power of a crowd of interpreters all jealous of one another, who expressed his thoughts badly, or gave him an inaccurate translation of what was said to him.

How could he, in such a situation, guard against the cunning devices of the mandarins, how restore peace and concord to the missionaries divided in opinion and belonging to different congregations and various nationalities?

After long negotiations, continually broken off and renewed again on the most futile pretence, the Emperor at last consented to give an audience to the Legate, who presented himself at court in his full episcopal robes; but nearly the whole time was passed in idle ceremonies, in making genuflexions, drinking warm wine, and eating sweetmeats, &c. When these were disposed of, four grand dignitaries of the empire solemnly presented to the Legate, in a large basin, a tunic of marten sable, which he was required to put on immediately over his ecclesiastical vestments, in order to do honour to the gracious gift of the Emperor.

Towards the end of the visit, the patriarch was

conducted, in grand pomp, to the foot of the imperial throne, where he received, from the hands of the Emperor, a golden cup full of wine. Khang-Hi then told him quite plainly that the decisions of the Pope were inadmissible, and that Europeans understood nothing of what took place in China. The Legate was about to reply when the Emperor hastened to add: "I have seen in pictures that came from Europe men painted with wings. What does that signify?" "When those figures are placed near Jesus Christ, the Virgin, or the Saints, they represent angels."

"But why do you give them wings?" "To express their agility and the promptitude of their obedience."

The Emperor looked at the patriarch with an arch smile, and then added —

"You are talking in paradoxes which the Chinese cannot comprehend, for they know very well that men have not wings." "If, however, the Chinese understood European books they would know that those paintings are symbolical, that, under a form apparently erroneous, they contain an incontestable truth."

The Legate, perceiving which way this conversation was tending, was about to speak, but the Emperor, who liked to display his oratory, stopped him immediately.

"Listen," he said, "and draw the conclusions in your own mind. I one day commanded one of the missionaries of the court to paint certain images, but he excused himself on the ground that he thought them superstitious. I did not say a word, but, some days afterwards, I asked him to come and see a play performed. When the piece was over, I asked him if he would have any scruple in reproducing with his pencil what he had just seen with his eyes. He replied that

he would not. 'Very well, then,' said I, 'that is just the kind of thing I asked you to paint a few days ago, and you refused.' The case is the same," continued the Emperor, "with the matter that has brought you so far. It presents a different appearance when looked at from different points of view. From one it appears to have a religious character, from the other a purely civil one, and this is what has happened to the Pope. Some have described the rites of China to him as innocent and unmeaning, others have represented them as full of idolatry and opposed to the law of God. The Pope has paid most attention to these latter informants, and, on this false report, has condemned what he knew nothing of, but which he ought to have known thoroughly to give a right judgment concerning them."

The Emperor, when he had spoken thus, dismissed the Legate without giving him time to reply. This first audience was followed by a great number of others, but they had all pretty nearly the same character, and contributed nothing to change the position of affairs. It was evident that these interviews amused the Emperor, and that he did not regard them as serious; but being eloquent and witty, he was fond of making a display of these qualities in presence of Europeans. The controversy was quite to his taste, but the reserved and circumspect character of the Legate sometimes disappointed him in a way he could not dissemble. He said more than once that he had tried to draw the patriarch into a dispute, but that he had not been able to make him change his courteous and respectful demeanour.

In these solemn audiences, where the most illustrious personages of the empire were assembled, Khang-Hi

was fond of descending from the heights of his imperial dignity, forgetting that he was the Son of Heaven, and giving himself up freely to his lively and sarcastic turn, and he seemed amazingly flattered by the laughter his keen jests occasioned. The courtiers, of course, as in duty bound, laughed immoderately on the smallest occasion, and unfortunately it sometimes happened that the missionaries, for fear of giving offence, laughed too, when they had better have looked grave.

After having argued a long time without being so fortunate as to find any one of a different opinion, his majesty had a habit of launching out against Monseigneur Maigrot, who had opposed him at the time of the legation of the Cardinal de Tournon, and he continually recurred to the subject, asking Mezzabarba what he thought of that man. When he found that the legate maintained a prudent reserve, for fear of either contradicting the Emperor, or failing in respect to so great a prelate, Khang-Hi would sometimes get into a passion and become exceedingly violent. He called the Bishop of Conon an ignorant, meddling, seditious man, and accused him of having been the cause of all the mischief and dissensions amongst the missionaries of China. One day, when he was more excited than usual, he said: "This Maigrot it was who stirred up all your quarrels of which I am so heartily tired. If there is not soon an end to them, I shall be obliged to ask the Pope to send him here that I may cut his head off, unless he will consent to do it at Rome. I cannot understand how a man of that character should be regarded at Rome as the Doctor of China."

It was easy to see that the Emperor would always continue to favour the Jesuits, who had rendered him

important services, and were of the same opinion as himself on the subject of the rites, and he was so bitter against Maigrot, partly because he knew he was the adversary of the Jesuits, and that he exercised at Rome great influence in all things relating to the affairs of China.*

It was doubtless the same motive that induced the Emperor to dislike Monseigneur Pedrini. This Lazarist missionary, who, on account of his remarkable talents, had been summoned to the court, had declared himself against the rites from the moment of his arrival at Pekin.

He had shown much devotion to the Cardinal de Tournon, and had rendered important services to Maigrot while he was struggling against the partisans of the worship of ancestors. The Legate, who knew the antecedents of Pedrini, had asked for him as an interpreter, and the Emperor had granted the request, but on condition that he should take another from among the Jesuits; and it is probable that, his having thus two interpreters of different opinions, had contributed not a little to embroil the business in hand, and augment its difficulties.

Pedrini was persecuted in every possible way, and soon rendered so odious to the Emperor that every time he brought forward the proposal of cutting off Maigrot's head, he never failed to add, by way of corollary, that it would be well to hang Pedrini. We shall see, in the sequel, that this missionary had much to suffer for his devotion to the representative of the Holy See.

No one, however, knew as yet, what the new consti-

* Journal of the Legation of M. de Mezzabarba, p. 107.

tution of the Sovereign Pontiff really was. People talked a great deal of it, but without having ever read it, for it was still in the hands of the Legate. One day some mandarins of the court came to him and declared that the Emperor must positively see this document, and the Legate desired no better, for he hoped that what had thus emanated immediately from the court of Rome would make an impression on the mind of the Emperor, and that his lively intelligence would not fail to be struck with the force of the reasons which had determined the condemnation of the Chinese rites.

Monseigneur de Mezzabarba feared, nevertheless, that he might be guilty of imprudence in allowing a document of this importance to pass out of his hands, and he told the mandarins that he desired to know whether he himself was to be the bearer of it, or whether he was to intrust to some one else the task of transmitting it to the Emperor. The mandarins replied that the Emperor wished to see it, but had not explained himself as to how, or by whom, it was to be brought; they themselves considered that he would do well to send it by some missionary in whom he had confidence; and the Legate accordingly, after wrapping the document in a piece of yellow silk, placed it in the hands of two missionaries, who returned with it to the palace in company with the mandarins.

The Emperor then ordered four of his official interpreters to translate the Pope's Bull*, and two mandarins were placed at the door of the apartment where they performed the work, in order to hinder all communication with the other missionaries.

* These four translators were — the Fathers Mailla, Regis, and Griampriamo, Jesuits, and M. Ripa, a Lazarist.

The next day the Patriarch of Alexandria received from the court a despatch, sealed with the imperial seal, containing the Pope's " Constitution," beneath which was a marginal note in red characters, written by Khang-Hi himself, to the following effect: " After having read such a decree as this, we cannot help asking how it is possible that these ignorant and despicable Europeans should dare to speak of the great doctrine of the Chinese, when they do not know either the customs, the manner, or the language which might help them to understand it. The Legate from the West has just brought a decree which resembles what is taught by the impious and contemptible sects of the Bonzes and the Taosse, who are ready to tear one another to pieces, without any pity.

" It is not expedient to allow these Europeans to preach their law in China. We must forbid them to speak of it, and by that means we shall avoid infinite trouble and perplexity."

When the patriarch had read these terrible words of the Emperor, he seemed as if overpowered by grief. He was surrounded at the moment by all the missionaries of Pekin, Jesuits and others, and all hung their heads and remained in profound silence; but it is to be presumed they were nevertheless not all affected by the same sentiments. At last the Legate broke this melancholy silence, and asked the missionaries what means could be adopted to put an end to these unfortunate disputes, and defend themselves from the sinister designs of the Emperor. The Jesuits were of opinion that there could be no plan so mild and efficacious as to suspend the " Constitution;" the Legate replied that that expedient was impossible, he would prefer death to

such a shameful act of cowardice. That, moreover, if he were to follow this course, he would thereby render all his own future acts null and void, since his powers, however extensive they might be supposed to be, certainly did not include that of judging the Sovereign Pontiff, and suspending a constitution issued by him.

Father Morao, superior of the Jesuits of Pekin, then rose and declared: firstly, that the constitution, if it were put in force, would infallibly entail the ruin of the mission. Secondly, that in so pressing a danger, when such fatal consequences were to be feared, the patriarch was bound in conscience to suspend it; since the Pope, when he issued it, had been under a false impression, and were he on the spot would change his opinion and be himself the first to withdraw his bull.

The Legate responded that it was no longer allowable even to discuss the matter; since the Pope had himself declared that it was finally settled, and had ordered the execution of the decree, without any regard to the consequences it might have for the missionaries or the mission.

At this moment two mandarins of the court entered the residence of the patriarch, and demanded his reply to the words of the Emperor, and the Legate wrote thus:—

"I have read with profound respect what the Emperor has deigned to write to me. His goodness, which is known over the whole earth, attracted me to this empire to implore his favour for our religion. I had thought that the message of toleration *, of which I am the

* These permissions or indulgences, which were also at the same time forwarded to the Emperor, were as follows:—

"1st. Chinese Christians are to be allowed to place in their houses

bearer, would suffice to accommodate these differences, and promote peace. I offer myself to return to Rome, and inform the Pope of your majesty's sentiments, and in the meantime I will change nothing, and perform no public act, but leave all things precisely as they now are.

"I humbly supplicate the Emperor to name the person whom he shall judge fit to be sent with me, to be a witness of my promptitude in executing his orders."

tablets inscribed with the names of deceased persons, provided that there be placed beside them the above-mentioned declaration, and that all superstitions, and whatever might occasion scandal, be avoided.

"2ndly. Chinese ceremonies which are not imbued with superstition, nor liable to suspicion, but purely civil, may be tolerated.

"3rdly. Homage purely civil may be rendered to Confucius, provided that his tablet be purified from any superstitious inscription, and the prescribed declaration added; and it is also even permitted that lights should be kindled, perfumes burnt, and viands placed before the tablets of this philosopher.

"4thly. It is permitted, under the aforesaid protest, to perform genuflexions and prostrations before the tablets of deceased persons, or their coffins, and to present wax-lights for the funeral ceremony.

"5thly. It is permitted to prepare tables with fruits and viands fit to be eaten, before the tablet or the coffin; provided, always, that it is done under the aforesaid protest, that everything of a superstitious character be avoided, and that these ceremonies are performed solely in a spirit of gratitude towards the deceased.

"6thly. It is permitted to make before the tablet (when duly corrected) the prostrations customary at the commencement of the Chinese year, and at other seasons.

"7thly. Perfumed and wax-lights may be burnt before the tablets, the prescribed protest being made.

"8thly. The same thing may be done before the tombs, and tables with fruits and viands be placed there, if the prescribed correctives be not omitted."—*Journal de la Légation de Mezzabarba*, p. 118.

After such a declaration as this, it might be said that the legation of the Patriarch of Alexandria was concluded, that the constitution of Clement XI. had been of no effect, and that in these deplorable contests the partisans of the rites had gained the victory. The eight permissions did in fact leave so much latitude to the missionaries that they might henceforward keep to the practices of Father Ricci, provided that the Christians entered a simple protest that they rejected all ideas of superstition and idolatry. The missionaries of the school of Father Ricci might declare themselves satisfied, but would arrangements which seemed to annul the bull of Clement XI. be accepted at Rome?

Monseigneur Mezzabarba, driven to his last entrenchments by the menaces of the Emperor, had thought to settle everything by these concessions, but he soon saw that he was very far from attaining his end.

The missionaries, left more than ever to their own private judgment, were about to recommence their disputes with fresh vehemence, and the Emperor seeing in all these theological subtleties no one thing clearly, but the condemnation of the Chinese worship by the Pope, could not fail to vent his displeasure on the Legate, the missionaries, and the religion that they taught, and this is what really happened.

Some days after the reception of the note and the eight permissions of the Legate, the Emperor granted to Monseigneur Mezzabarba, a solemn audience, to which the missionaries of Pekin, the literati of the Academy of Han Lin, the principal dignitaries of the empire, and the princes of the blood, were all assembled. On this occasion it was evidently the Emperor's purpose to push the Legate to extremity, and to have done with all evasions.

He had never been in so lively, shrewd, and satirical a humour; and he began with saying that he had always endeavoured to distinguish what is from what is not, and that he knew perfectly well how to separate the true from the false; and after having thus proclaimed his imperial infallibility, he made a vehement attack on the eight permissions granted by the Legate to the missionaries, and declared that they were quite unmeaning, and that he did not know what to make of these new rites, surrounded by all sorts of restrictions. Then, passing to the Pope's bull, he declared that it was a mere tissue of errors, and consequently inadmissible. "I have had the patience," he said, "to collate it with the mandate of Maigrot, and I have found them both alike; indeed, since Maigrot is at Rome, it is probable that he has dictated this bull. The Christians pretend that they decide nothing but by the light of the Holy Ghost, so we must conclude that this Holy Ghost is no other than Maigrot himself." This pleasantry of the Son of Heaven was applauded by great shouts of laughter, and encouraged by his success, Khang-Hi went on: "I know a hunter, who though blind, is fond of coursing hares, and he shoots his arrows at random, without knowing at what. Now the Pope is like this hunter, he launches his decrees without ever hitting the mark, because he has been blinded by the statements of Maigrot.

"Over the great door of the Christian church here in Pekin, there is a great slab of marble bearing this inscription, 'King-Tien' (Adore Heaven). This marble is sealed with my seal, for I myself presented it to the missionaries. Now, according to the Pope's bull, this inscription is superstitious and damnable, so the Legate should order it to be taken away, and broken up into frag-

ments; but then upon these fragments they ought to burn the missionaries who received it, and Pedrini himself should light the fire."

New shouts of laughter hailed these words, and all eyes turned towards Monsieur Pedrini, the patriarch's interpreter.

Thinking himself thus in a happy vein, Khang-Hi went on, making a great many remarks on many various subjects, without paying the slightest attention to the Legate, except once, when he turned to him with the question, whether it was customary in Europe to condemn any one to death, without having first proved his crime.

"In Europe," replied the patriarch, "no one is condemned without judicial proof."

The Emperor said, that was also the case in China, and that it was his custom never to pronounce sentence on any one, even with convincing proof, until he had prayed and fasted to obtain light from Heaven on his decision; that notwithstanding these precautions he trembled all over when he had to condemn any one. After a moment's silence, he commanded his physician to approach, and said to him, "Master! you are a much more formidable person than I am."

As the doctor appeared disconcerted, Khang-Hi added, laughing: "I am going to tell you why. I cannot put any one to death without proof of crime; but you may kill whoever you please, without the smallest formality;" and of course every one was charmed with the monarch's *bon-mot*, and he continued for a long time uttering similarly facetious remarks.

At length, when he had carried this tedious farce as far as he chose, Khang-Hi, suddenly resuming all his impe-

rial dignity, turned to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and told him that the business of the legation was concluded, and that he might set off for Macao as soon as he pleased, and wait there for the vessels that were to take him and his suite back to Europe. "I do not write to the Pope," he added, "because I should be obliged to employ, according to the custom of the Tartars, some expressions that might displease him."

Monseigneur Mezzabarba replied, that he himself would be the living letter of his majesty to the Sovereign Pontiff. The Emperor asked the Legate what he wished to do with the missionaries whom he had left at Canton, and the Legate answered, that they were to be distributed through the various churches in the provinces.

"No," exclaimed Khang-Hi, "that shall not be, for those missionaries would be obliged to disobey either my orders, or those of the Pope; mine, if they observe the constitution, the Pope's, if they observe my edict, which is contrary to the constitution; and in order that they may not be placed in so unpleasant a position, it will be well to take them back to Europe."

Finally, the Emperor had a gold cup of wine brought to him, and offered it himself to the Legate; then taking his hands between his own, he held them for a long time, to the great astonishment of the mandarins, who appeared quite beside themselves at the sight.

"After this last expression of his regard," says the Journal of the Legation of Mezzabarba, "the Emperor dismissed Monseigneur the Patriarch of Alexandria, who, on leaving the palace, was surrounded by mandarins, congratulating him on the honour shown him, and assuring him that they never remembered the Emperor

of China condescending so far to any one, even to his own children."

The author of the narrative, at least, does not seem to have been hard to please.

On the 3rd of March, 1721, Mezzabarba left the capital, and again traversed this vast China, doubtless with a heart overwhelmed by sadness on account of all that he had seen and heard during his stay at Pekin. On the 27th of May he reached Macao, where, as on his first arrival, he was received in grand pomp; the troops of the garrison were ordered under arms; guns were fired, and bonfires and illuminations displayed in his honour; but these expressions of public joy, which on the former occasion had expanded the heart of the patriarch with the most delightful hopes, now only revived the most mournful recollections.

He was obliged to remain six months at Macao, and during that time he published a mandate exhorting the missionaries to conform to the decrees of the Holy See, which he had, as we have seen, modified by eight special permissions, relative to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors. After that he returned to Rome, carrying with him the remains of Cardinal De Tournon, to which the Sovereign Pontiff desired to render honours worthy of that venerable confessor of Jesus Christ.

A great deal was said and written in Europe concerning the legation of Mezzabarba, and as its results were in some measure favourable to the partisans of the rites, they contributed to excite public opinion against the Jesuits. Their enemies repeated in all languages, and in every possible form, that they had been the authors of its failure, and that if the bull

Ex illâ die had not been accepted in China, it was entirely owing to their intrigues, and the influence they had exercised over the Emperor; the melancholy triumph, therefore, that they obtained at Pekin, was but the sequel for the most violent attacks being made upon them in Europe. We read in the Memoirs of St. Simon: "At that time there appeared a bull of the Pope which settled very clearly all the disputes of the missionaries and Jesuits of China concerning the Chinese ceremonies in honour of Confucius, the ancestors, and others; which declared them idolatrous, and proscribed them, condemned the Jesuits for their toleration and their practice concerning them, approved the conduct of the late Cardinal de Tournon, whose sufferings, constancy, and death were much lauded in it, and the intrigues and disobedience of the Jesuits much rebuked. This bull did not so much mortify them as enrage them; they first evaded it, and then trampled it under foot; but there has been so much written upon this matter, that I will say no more."

The disobedience and revolt of the Jesuits against the pontifical authority now became a fashionable theme, which the Jansenists especially turned to account with their customary bad faith; and it must be admitted that the circumstances of the case wonderfully aided them. Whilst they themselves were stubbornly rejecting the bull *Unigenitus* and their redoubtable antagonists, the Jesuits, were denouncing to the Catholic world their rebellion against the Holy See; here were the Jesuits of China resisting the bull *Ex illâ die.*

The Jansenists, as may be supposed, knew how to turn their inconsistency to their own advantage; but what was more curious was, to find the Emperor of

China pointing to their position in the Christian world to explain that of the Chinese.

"Why," said he, one day, to Mezzabarba, "do you wish to insist on the reception of the bull *Ex illâ die* in China when France will not receive the *Unigenitus*? Can those who are not Christians be expected to be more obedient to the Pope than those who are?" It is really deplorable to find the Emperor Khang-Hi acquainted with this Jansenist quarrel, and one cannot but ask, sorrowfully, what purpose those could have had in view, who thus made him aware of the dissensions that were rending the Church.

The legation of Mezzabarba, which had thus supplied the religious strife in Europe with fresh fuel, by furnishing the Jansenists with arms against the Jesuits, was very far from restoring peace to the missions of China. That the mandate of the Patriarch of Alexandria, far from appeasing these troubles, had had the effect of renewing them with more violence than ever, is easy to imagine. The partisans of the ceremonies had obtained from the prelate admissions that were favourable to their mode of viewing the points contested, and this legation was therefore far more acceptable to them than the one that had preceded it; but their adversaries nevertheless accused them of having occasioned its failure no less than that of the preceding one; and thus the minds of both parties became more and more embittered against each other, and the hopes of a lasting peace farther than ever from being realised.

The Legate Mezzabarba had forbidden the publication of the document, which was soon misrepresented by the declaration that it annulled the bull of 1715; but his

prohibition was not respected. The Bishop of Pekin issued pastoral letters enjoining Christians to conform to the Bull *Ex illâ die* modified by the Eight Permissions; while the Vicar-Apostolic of Chen-Si published a similar letter to forbid the use of them. The confusion was therefore increased, and the antagonism became more fierce than before. Such a state of things soon demanded the intervention of the Pope (Clement XII.), who condemned the pastoral letters of the Bishop of Pekin, and afterwards laid the Eight Permissions of Mezzabarba before the Holy Office, in order that it might give judgment concerning them. The inquiry was conducted in the most strict and solemn manner, and the depositions taken on oath of the missionaries of China, then in Rome, as well as of Chinese students sent to Rome to be educated for the Church; but the decease of the Pope, a short time afterwards, deferred the final decision.

It belonged to the great Pope Benedict XIV., that learned and profound theologian, to terminate this prolonged controversy, and vigorously cut away the roots of all further discussion. Boldly resuming the examination of this apparently inextricable entanglement, interrupted by the death of his predecessor, he declared that the Holy See had never approved the Eight Permissions, and that they were contrary to the pontifical decree. He consequently ordered that they should be declared henceforward null and void, and he confirmed, in the most positive manner, the decree of Clement XI., forbidding the interpretation of this decree in any other sense than that in which he himself received it, namely, as declaring all the ceremonies indicated, with-

out exception, idolatrous, and, consequently, in all cases, unlawful.

After the example of his predecessor, he passed the most severe censures on all missionaries who should dare to oppose this decree, and commanded that all who should refuse to submit should be sent back to Europe to be punished for their disobedience by the Sovereign Pontiff himself. He enjoined the generals, and other superiors of congregations, to watch with the greatest vigilance over the execution of this ordonnance by their subordinates, reserving to himself the right of proceeding against them if they refused to obey, and declaring such superiors, by that fact alone, deprived of the right of ever again sending a member of their order to those countries. He prescribed also a new formula of an oath to be taken by every missionary; and, finally, he exhorted all evangelical labourers in the East, by the most powerful motives, to conform in spirit to the decrees of the Holy See, and supplicated them to restore thus to his paternal heart the joy of which these long contests in the Church had deprived it.

Let us listen to the pathetic and solemn voice of the Vicar of Christ, sounding thus over distant Asia, to calm the hearts of the preachers of the Gospel, and invite them to a holy union:—"We have the fullest trust," exclaims Benedict XIV., "that the Prince of Pastors, Jesus Christ, whose place on earth we fill, will bless the labours to which we have been so long devoted in this grave matter, that he will render fruitful the great desire we have to see the light of the Gospel burn brightly and steadily in those vast countries, and the pastors of those same regions sincerely convinced of the obligation they are under to listen to and obey our

voice. We have equal confidence, too, that with God's help they will dismiss from their souls the fear they have expressed that, by the execution of the pontifical decrees, they will arrest the progress of the propagation of the faith. We must found our hopes, before all things, on the Divine Grace, and this grace will never fail us, if we proclaim the truths of the Christian religion with courage and in all the purity in which they have been transmitted to them by the Apostolic See. This grace will not fail them if they are prepared to defend their religion by the effusion of their blood, after the examples of the holy apostles and other great defenders of the Christian faith, whose death, far from checking the progress of the Gospel, only rendered the vine of the Lord more flourishing, and the harvest of souls more abundant. On our parts, as far as it depends on us, we will pray God to give them the strength of soul that nothing can overcome, and the power of apostolic zeal. Finally, we will remind them that in devoting themselves to the holy work of the missions, they must regard themselves as true disciples of Jesus Christ, sent by him, not to temporal joys, but to severe combats, not to honours but to ignominy, not to leisure but to labour, not to repose but to unwearied effort to produce much fruit by patience."

This eloquent appeal to the apostolic sentiments of the preachers of the Gospel is found in the celebrated Bull *Ex quo singulari*, by which Benedict XIV. terminated at last this controversy, for ever memorable for the evils it occasioned not only to the missions but to the Church at large. "Great advantage has been taken of it," says Monseigneur Luquet, "to decry venerable religious men, who might commit errors, and sometimes

even be guilty of inexcusable resistance to the orders of the Sovereign Pontiff, without there being any cause to attack, on that account, the whole body with the passionate violence that party spirit has excited." *

Benedict XIV., after having given in his bull the whole history of the controversy, beginning from the decree of 1645, quotes entire that of 1710, issued to confirm the mandate of the Cardinal de Tournon, and gives also the constitution of Clement XI. in 1715, and the mandate of Monseigneur Mezzabarba with the Eight Permissions; finally he recapitulates the letter of Clement XII., which annuls the pastoral letters of the Bishop of Pekin.

This bull was despatched immediately to the missions, where it met with some opposition from the missionaries who were partisans of the rites; but the Pontiff succeeded in overcoming, by a brief addressed to the Bishop of Pekin, all the pretences that could be opposed to the execution of the apostolic constitutions, of which he demonstrated the expediency and the necessity. In this brief Benedict XIV. replies to some observations of the prelate on the subject of the ceremonies, and entreats him to observe the pontifical decrees with the utmost fidelity; he shows also that the reasons of expediency alleged against these decisions could not be valid when practices obviously idolatrous were in question; and he concludes by pointing out that decrees, as necessary and as suitable as they were, could not, as was asserted, be injurious to the maintenance and propagation of the holy faith in the provinces of China. It was thus that the Bull *Ex quo singulari* came to be regarded as the uniform and

* Lettres à Monseigneur l'Évêque de Langrès, p. 177.

invariable rule, upon which all missionaries ought to base their conduct, and which, to this day, they solemnly swear to maintain.

"If now," said the Bishop of Hesebon, "we cast a glance over that long succession of discussions for which the Church has had so much cause to groan, we shall find in them a deplorable example of what human weakness is liable to, even when acting with the purest and most upright intentions. We see, in fact, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, after having set out from a principle that we shall always be disposed to adopt, whenever conscience will permit it; we see, I say, these great missionaries falling into errors which, being obstinately defended, were productive of the most fatal consequences. But there is one consideration that may, in some measure, serve to excuse their conduct. We believe that if they had remained alone in China, or that other missionaries had, if possible, adopted their practice in this respect, it might not have been found impracticable, at some subsequent time, to purify the much talked-of ceremonies from the superstitious character attributed to them. Thus in tolerating for a time an evil purely material, they might have spared feeble minds, and insured a more rapid progress to our holy religion in those countries. Such were, certainly, the views of the Society of Jesus, and if they were mistaken, they cannot at least be reproached with evil intentions, a fact very important to be established, and too often unrecognised."

We must admit, however, that the Jesuits sought for a long time to elude the pontifical decrees, and that at a moment when it would have been so glorious for their society to give to the world an example of which

the Church had the greatest need; but we must add that the instant this solemn judgment had been given in a way to leave no possibility of a doubt, they did faithfully and courageously obey. Their personal convictions gave way before the all-powerful authority, in the presence of which every human intelligence should bow, and every will acknowledge limits that it should never cross.

Notwithstanding the consequences they foresaw to religion and to their own fate they submitted, and thus afforded a new proof of a truth constantly verified through all time,—that "the Society of Jesus, strong in the intellect and the virtue of all members, may sometimes struggle against the highest powers of the world, and place itself in an attitude of just and courageous self-defence, but at the same time it will well know how to submit when the voice of God shall have spoken by the mouth of his representative on earth." *

* Luquet, p. 180.

CHAP. VIII.

UNFORTUNATE RESULT OF THE DISSENSIONS AMONG THE MISSIONARIES. — CHINESE NOBILITY. — PRINCES OF THE BLOOD. — THEIR ORGANISATION. — TARTAR TRIBUNAL. — PRINCE SOURMIA. — MANNER OF LIFE OF THE PRINCES OF THE YELLOW GIRDLE. — A MAN OF LETTERS OF THE SOURMIA FAMILY. — HE DISCOVERS THE CHRISTIAN BOOKS. — HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CELEBRATED FATHER BRENNEN. — THE TENTH SON OF SOURMIA ACCOMPANIES THE HEIR OF THE EMPIRE TO THE WAR. — BAPTISED BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE BY THE NAME OF PAUL. — HE EVANGELISES HIS COMPANIONS IN ARMS. — BAPTISM OF PRINCE JOHN AND HIS FAMILY. — PREFACE OF A CHINESE BOOK. — ANGER OF THE OLD PRINCE SOURMIA AT THE NUMEROUS CONVERSIONS IN HIS FAMILY. — THE PRINCE PAUL CONSECRATES HIMSELF TO THE WORK OF BAPTISING LITTLE CHILDREN. — THE SONS OF PRINCE SOURMIA LABOUR FOR THE CONVERSION OF THEIR FATHER. — DEATH OF THE EMPEROR KHANG-HI. — HIS WILL. — GLANCE AT THE REIGN OF KHANG-HI. — KHANG-HI AND LOUIS XIV.

THE unhappy strife that had for so long a period divided the preachers of the Gospel in the Chinese Empire was, it must be confessed, far more prejudicial to the propagation of the faith than the most violent persecutions of the mandarins. In the countries not yet converted to Christianity, nothing has so powerful an effect as the sight of the union and concord prevailing amongst its professors, for infidels are far less affected by any reasoning or theological dissertations which can be addressed to them, than by the spectacle of so many men of various conditions, unknown one to the other, and yet so closely connected by the mysterious bonds of religion. This great family, of one heart and one soul, is for them an enchanting novelty of irresistible

attraction, which affects and frequently subdues them, and they cannot help longing to become members of the divine institution where all breathes of harmony, peace, and love.

These tender bonds of Christian charity, which persecution often does but draw more closely, were sadly relaxed by the fatal antagonism of the missionaries. The Christian communities, disturbed and agitated as they were by intestine quarrels, could no longer serve for example or edification, and the neophytes lost their influence among their countrymen from the moment when they were heard to exclaim, passionately, "We are for the Jesuits! or we are for the Dominicans." In such cases the infidels were apt to reply, "We are for neither the one nor the other." In the midst, however, of the deplorable difficulties for which, this time, the pagans were not to blame, the propagation of the faith was still not entirely paralysed; for the Spirit of God bloweth where it listeth, in spite of every kind of obstacle. Great as was the mischief occasioned by this controversy about the rites; the conversions still went on in tolerable numbers, and some even took place in the imperial family, many of the princes and princesses having embraced the Christian faith, notwithstanding the opposition of the head of their branch, the Prince Sourmia.

After the mournful disclosures we have been compelled to make, it will be a consolation to us to pause for a moment before the picture of this family, so constant and heroic in confessing the name of Jesus Christ.

To obtain an exact idea of the princely families of China, we must not compare them with those of Europe, where public opinion raises princes above the most distinguished persons of the state not of royal blood, and

their small number attracts consideration and respect, increasing in proportion to their proximity to the throne.

It is not thus in China, where the aristocratic element has no existence. We have said elsewhere that the social organisation of the Chinese admits only of one kind of nobility, that of the literati, whose numbers are recruited by the method of public examinations. When the Emperor confers titles and honours on citizens remarkable for merit, or public services, these titles and honours, which can never be transmitted to descendants, revert to ancestors, so that they do not disturb the principle of equality on which Chinese society is based; and he who wishes to distinguish himself from the crowd, must find in himself the source of his distinction.

The members of the imperial family constitute the sole nobility, the sole aristocracy of the country, if the words aristocracy and nobility are admissible as applied to a body which neither by fortune nor position can exercise any influence on the state. The imperial princes, have some few insignificant privileges, as, for instance, that of wearing the yellow girdle, but those who wish to fill public offices, or acquire wealth, must study like others, and be admitted into the corporation of the lettered; otherwise they must vegetate, far from the throne, in the crowd of mere citizens, and conceal their yellow girdle when they cannot afford to keep up an appearance conformable to their birth. We were ourselves acquainted at Pekin with several of these Mantchoo princes, who had been ruined by Chinese usurers, and who were dragging on their existence as absolute beggars.

The founder of the Mantchoo Tartar dynasty, occupying the throne of China at this time, had a great number

of brothers, who by their valour contributed much to the conquest of the empire, and the subjection of the tributary nations. When the Tartar Emperor reorganised Chinese society, he gave to his brothers the titles of kings, creating some Tsin-Wang, others Kiun-Wang, and Pei-Li; and it had pleased the missionaries to bestow upon dignitaries of this kind the name of *Regulos* of the first and second class. It was ruled that amongst the children of these kinglings, there should always be one to succeed his father and bear the same title, whilst the rest should remain merely in the order of princes of the Yellow Girdle. The Regulos were drilled into five classes, and those of the fifth were still above all the great mandarins of the empire, and had, as they still have, in addition to the yellow girdle, certain marks of their rank, in dress and equipage, which distinguish them from mandarins.

The imperial princes, of the Mantchoo dynasty increased and multiplied with such rapidity, that already in the reign of Khang-Hi they were counted by thousands; their numbers, indeed, became so considerable that the government thought it prudent to take measures for the organisation and discipline of these troops of yellow girdles, which might one day become dangerous to the state. A tribunal was established at Pekin solely to attend to their affairs, and they were informed that the motive of this proceeding was the desire to do them honour, and in order that they might not be confounded with common people; in reality, however, the government was glad to keep them thus under a kind of surveillance, in order to repress any tendency to disturbance among them.

The presidents and chief officers of this tribunal are

titled princes, or Regulos; but the subalterns are chosen among the ordinary mandarins, and are employed in drawing up the various documents required, and in other bureaucratic details.

A great register is kept in the archives of this tribunal in which are inserted the names of all the male children born in the imperial family, and by the side of the names the titles and dignities to which they may have a claim, are carefully noted.

No mention is made of the female children, as the sex is regarded in China with so much contempt, that not even the princesses of the blood royal are considered worthy of notice. The only feminine names recorded are those of the first legitimate wives of the Regulos; the secondary wives, as well as of course the concubines, are omitted; it would be, in fact, no easy matter to mention even their number, as the law sets no limit to it.

All the princes of the Yellow Girdle are obliged to present themselves at certain periods of the year before this tribunal, under penalty of being erased from the imperial list, of losing the small pension allotted to them, and sinking into the rank of ordinary citizens. By these means the government is enabled to keep its eyes on this princely crowd, which might otherwise become dangerous, and occasion a great deal of embarrassment. Those among them who are guilty of any crime are judged and punished by the imperial tribunal.

Amongst the most distinguished Regulos living at Pekin towards the end of the reign of Khang-Hi, was one of the third order named Sourmia. He was lineally descended from the founder of the Mantchoo-Tartar dy-

nasty; and the family of which he was the head was very numerous: he had thirteen sons, with children of their own, and sixteen daughters, married to Mongol princes, or mandarins of the capital, for, according to the Mantchoo law, alliances with princes of the same blood are not permitted.

The third of Sourmia's sons had already distinguished himself by his talents and capacity, not only in military employments, but also in his knowledge of Chinese and Tartar books, and had passed through all the examinations with remarkable success.

The Emperor Khang-Hi had expressed his satisfaction by raising him to the dignity of Regulo of the fifth order; and had assigned to him at the same time the honour and appointments attached to this dignity, and the distinction was so much the more valuable as it signified that the monarch destined him to be the successor of his father.

The great business of life for these Regulos, of all classes, is to be present at all public ceremonies, show themselves every morning at the imperial palace, and then retire to their own, where they have nothing to do but to keep in order their household of mandarins and others whom the Emperor has appointed to serve them. They are not allowed to visit one another, or to sleep out of the town without express permission, and it is easy to see why they are subjected to such galling restraints. Their life consists entirely of leisure time, which very few of them know how to employ usefully.

These idle hands sometimes busy themselves, in a kind of desperation, with all sorts of absurd trivialities: some become collectors of curiosities, and accumulate, at

vast expense, old bronze, old china, old paintings, in short, all the old *bric-à-brac* they can get hold of; and the cunning Chinese know how to turn their weaknesses to advantage, and fabricate antiques which they sell to them at an enormous price. Some devote their lives to the culture of their gardens, and the arrangement of their parks, and it is extraordinary what richness of invention they display in quaint vegetable fancies, and tricks of nature, that make their parks and gardens the most whimsical and curious spectacles imaginable, abounding in all sorts of unexpected contrasts.

The Regulos of Pekin are also great bird fanciers, and some of them will pass whole days, holding on the five fingers of their right hand a small cage, in which flutters a *peling-tze*, that is to say, "bird with a hundred tongues;" with which they endeavour to carry on conversation. Those who are of a more pugnacious disposition get up fights between quails or crickets, and seek for excitement in the contemplation of the struggles of the poor creatures tearing each other to pieces with incredible fury. There is, in fact, no silly idle pastime with which these unfortunate imperial princes do not endeavour to fill the void of their existence. We were ourselves acquainted with a charming little Regulo, who had dedicated his life to clocks and watches. His apartments were full of them, and his great amusement was to examine their works and hear them strike, and as he had learned a little of the art of watch and clock-making, he was perpetually taking them to pieces and putting them together again.

The third son of the venerable Sourmia was far from resembling his confraternity of the Yellow Girdle; he disliked frivolous amusements, and was fond of study, being never so happy as when engaged with his books

and pencils, and it was by these that God drew him towards the knowledge of Christian truth. He began, as he afterwards told the missionaries, by studying with care the books most esteemed by the Chinese literati; and he afterwards read with no less diligence those of the bonzes and doctors of reason; in the hope of discovering the motives that induce these sectaries to live in a manner so different from the generality of mankind. He found these books full of contradictions and obscurities. He discovered in them no firm principle, or solid reasoning, on the most essential points; but as this young prince Sourmia was far from having a high opinion of himself, he attributed their apparent obscurity to his own want of intelligence, and set to work again to study them with close attention. He consulted the members of those sects who passed for wise and learned men, argued with them, and proposed his difficulties for solution. But their replies gave him little satisfaction, and no two of them appeared to be agreed concerning the fundamental point of the chastisement of the wicked and the reward of the good. As his studies and researches were quite incapable of affording nutriment to his intellect, the young Regulo was still a prey to many doubts and perplexities, when one day he chanced to pass through a fair held before a large pagoda. He stopped at a place where a number of old books were laid out for sale, and noticed one bearing for its title, "Of the Soul of Man."

Nothing could be better adapted to pique the curiosity of the noble student, and desiring one of his attendants to purchase the volume, he returned with it eagerly to his palace, and began to devour the contents. The style of it seemed different from that of any work he

had met with before, but he could not clearly make out its meaning, and he found in it many insuperable difficulties.

He sent to the booksellers to know whether they had any others of the kind, in the hope of obtaining some explanation of the mysterious things he had just read about the soul of man; but the bookseller informed him that they did not keep books referring to that doctrine, and that he would only find them at the house of the Lord of Heaven, the *Tien-Tchou-Tang.* The Regulo did not know at first that this was the appellation bestowed on the residence of the Europeans at Pekin, but supposed it to be the sign of the place where books of this kind were sold.

The attendant whom he despatched thither returned with the message that the Europeans did not sell books, but gave them freely to those who asked for them; and the attendant added, that when they had made him a present of the books, they had talked much to him of the great and holy doctrine they had come to preach in the central kingdom, and mentioned that the most important articles of that doctrine were explained in those books.

The young Prince Sourmia read them eagerly, and as he proceeded he was charmed with their order and clearness, and the cogency of the reasoning by which the existence of the Supreme Being, the sole creator of all things, was proved; he could, he said, imagine nothing grander or more perfect.

The mere enumeration of the magnificent attributes of God, afforded him pleasure, and so much the more because this doctrine seemed to approach somewhat that of the most ancient books of China. When, however,

he came to the statement that the Son of God became man, his reason was disturbed and inclined to rebel. He was surprised that men apparently so enlightened should have mingled with so many truths, a doctrine that appeared so irreconcilable to reason. The more he meditated upon it, the more was he inclined to regret this article of faith, for he then contemplated this sublime mystery only in the feeble light of his own intelligence, and he had not yet learned to subject this intelligence to the yoke of faith. The books, nevertheless, made so much impression on him that he spoke to his brothers and friends of what he had found in them, and their contents afforded the subject of frequent discussions.

This ardent and sincere searcher after the truth came several times to the mission to get his doubts and uncertainties cleared up, and he had frequent conferences with the missionaries and the lettered Christians; their answers seemed satisfactory, yet still his doubts were not cleared up, and he remained hovering on the confines of truth and error; sometimes suddenly enlightened by a bright flash, sometimes in profound darkness. In the hope of steadying, if possible, these fluctuations of his mind, he at length seized his pencil and composed two volumes, in which he brought together all that was most luminous and convincing in the Christian books on the subject of a Divine revelation, adding also the objections that had been made, and the answers given to them. The book was written in very simple style, without any pretensions to literary merit; for he had no other view in its composition than to convince himself, and instruct at the same time the members of his family.

It was when he had advanced thus far in his religious

studies, and his efforts to arrive at a knowledge of the truth, that the young Prince Sourmia was commanded to follow the Emperor to Tartary for the great autumnal hunt; and having learned that Father Parennin, one of the most celebrated missionaries of Pekin, was to make the journey also, he resolved to profit by this happy circumstance, in order to combat victoriously the doubts that harassed him. He therefore ordered his attendants to find out in what part of the camp the tent of the European was placed, and to pitch his as near as possible to it, without attracting attention.

They had made some days' march into the wilderness, when, one day while every one else was resting from the severe fatigues of the chase, Prince Sourmia betook himself to the tent of Father Parennin, accompanied by one of his brothers, a young man of only seventeen.

The long and ceremonious salutations prescribed by custom having at length terminated, he expressed to the missionary his desire of conversing with him on the Christian doctrine. "Master," he said, "if I desire to enter into a discussion with you, it is not with a view of contradicting you, or of making a parade of what I know; my only wish is to dissipate my doubts, and inquire concerning some truths that I find it difficult to comprehend. There are some things of which I am already convinced, and which it would therefore be useless to stop for; such, for example, as the existence of God, the sole Creator of all things, &c. But here," he added, "is something that contradicts my reason, and forbids me from entering into a religion which I admire and love." He then explained to the missionaries his difficulties concerning the incarnation of the Word; the inequality of conditions among men; the afflictions

of the just, and the prosperity of the wicked; on predestination, the eucharist; auricular confession; the power of the Pope; on diabolical possession; haunted houses; the power of the devil, and various other matters that troubled him. These numerous questions, discussed with good faith and intelligence, proved to Father Parennin that this noble Tartar had made a profound study of Christian doctrine.

He hoped that from that time the prince's conversion was not far distant, and that God would also make use of him to open to many others the paths to truth and the way of salvation.

Father Parennin, who was a learned theologian, and at the same time a man of a very amiable character, and much kindness of heart, endeavoured to smooth these difficulties for his interesting interlocutor; but he noticed that it was not always the strongest reasons which brought the most perfect conviction. Infidels are, in fact, not always most persuaded by the best arguments, although they have nothing to say against them; they are often most struck by words spoken almost at random, but which God makes use of to draw them towards Him, and at the same time make the ministers of His word understand that the change of the heart, and the conquest of the soul, are the work of His mercy alone.

The young Regulo and Father Parennin used to like to meet during the periods of repose from the chase. They held long conversations upon religion, and the great business of salvation, and the disciple felt that by degrees faith was gaining possession of his soul, and his doubts imperceptibly fading away; but still he did not believe firmly and unreservedly.

One day the missionary told him he must not suppose

himself the first person who ever entertained these doubts, nor imagine that the answers he had furnished were of his own invention. "Europeans," he added, "before believing in and embracing the Christian religion, met with the same difficulties, and even more formidable ones; but the wonderful accumulation of inducements to believe determined them at last, by the grace of God, to humble themselves, and submit their minds to the truths which are above human reason. My brother, the Christians of ages past have doubted for themselves and for you; cease, therefore, to disquiet yourself for these things, and ingeniously to search out false arguments to dispense yourself from the necessity of obeying God, who is calling you and urging you by that very uneasiness that you feel. He makes the first advances, without waiting for you, and you draw back as if you feared to lose something, or to be taken by surprise. Know that the worst misfortune that could befall you would be that He should cease to solicit you, and leave you in that fatal tranquillity that would be followed after death by a still worse and irreparable evil. Should you not, on your side at least, make a step to meet God? You do not approve of polygamy, you are convinced it is an evil, and you are right. Act, then, consistently; begin by setting this matter right, and dispose yourself by that to receive greater favour, by which your doubts and difficulties will disappear. What keeps men away from the truth, and their duty, is much less any obscurity in their intellect than certain fetters of the heart that they will not break. Until now you have done nothing but dispute, multiply your doubts, and gaze at the passage between your present state and that of the Christian, as if it were guarded by monsters that you

did not dare to approach. It is in strength you are most wanting. Let us, then, ask it of God with fervour and perseverance."

This language made a great impression on the two Tartar princes, who frequently visited Father Parennin, and it fortified their characters, whilst it enlightened their understandings. Before the hunt was over the two sons of Sourmia were in heart Christians, although not yet baptized; and worthy to take rank amongst the most fervid catechumens. There was even reason to hope that they would soon be zealous apostles of their new faith.

As soon, in fact, as they returned to Pekin, they began to preach the Gospel in the bosom of their numerous families. They spoke to their venerable fathers and their brothers of the excellence of the Christian religion; and they spoke with the power of men convinced of the truth that they announced. They urged them at least to examine the principles on which these truths are founded. They made them feel that no subject could be more important to them, since it concerned the felicity or the misery of their future lives; and these family conversations more than once brought on very animated discussions; but by degrees, self-love and obstinacy mingled less in them, and at last the grace of God triumphed; many felt themselves convinced, and resolved to embrace the Gospel; and nothing remained but to conquer certain obstacles which, in the eyes of the Tartar princes, appeared difficult to surmount.

One of the most formidable of these was that of the Tiao-Tchen, a worship which the Mantchoo Tartars have rendered almost every month to their ancestors, since the conquest of the empire; and the influence of the

Bonzes has mingled with this worship various Buddhist ceremonies.

The princes of whom we speak, not being the heads of their family, since their father was still alive, were not permitted to make any change in ceremonies of this kind, nor could they absent themselves from them, several times running, without being regarded as unnatural sons, and guilty of a crime that among the Tartars is considered equal to rebellion, and is punished with the same severity, that is to say, capitally.

Another obstacle, no less hard to overcome, was the opposition of the old Prince Sourmia, who, though he professed esteem for the Christian religion, would not permit any of his sons to embrace it; he exhorted them to keep steadily to the ancient faith of the Tartars, and live like their ancestors, who were good enough examples to follow. Sometimes he even tried to intimidate them, and threatened to report their conduct to the Emperor. The fear of displeasing the Son of Heaven, and being exposed to the mockery of the other princes of the blood, constantly harassed this poor old man, and induced him to act against his own convictions.

With respect to the young princes, his sons, they regarded neither the loss of their fortune and titles, nor the most rigorous practices of Christianity, as anything more than trivial hindrances.

"We can," they said, "conquer these difficulties without the help of man; we need only the assistance of God, and we hope he will not refuse it to our prayers." These were the words of the tenth of these young princes, who had first of all the happiness of receiving holy baptism.

We have already spoken of the war which the Emperor Khang-Hi undertook and successfully terminated, against Kaldan, the sovereign of the Oeleuts. In the year 1729, he had announced that he would send one of his sons to Tartary at the head of an army, to attack some tribes who had risen against his authority; and as soon as his intention was known, several princes of the blood offered to accompany the Emperor's son, and serve under his orders. The tenth prince of the Sourmia family, who was at that time about twenty-seven years of age, tall, well made, and with the reputation of an officer well skilled in the art of war, offered himself with others, and was accepted.

For a long time past he had renounced the superstitious practices of the Mantchoo Tartars, and had led quite a Christian life. He obeyed strictly the Divine commandments, and failed in none of the ordinances of the Church, dividing his time between prayer, reading, and the instruction of the members of his household, many of whom received baptism before him. He had often urged the missionaries to grant him this favour, but they, wishing to put his constancy to further trial, had delayed conferring it. The moment was now come, however, when the fervent catechumen desired more than ever to receive spiritual regeneration. Being about to set out on a march of eighteen hundred miles, he earnestly renewed his entreaties to the missionaries on this subject, and begged them to consider that he was going to an unhealthy country, where sickness and scarcity, and the vicissitudes of the seasons, were enemies stillmore formidable than the mortal foes he was about to encounter; and that they could not refuse him what he asked without endangering the salvation of his soul.

The missionaries now no longer desired to resist his pious wishes, and they baptized him by the name of Paul; and after the ceremony, having nothing more to detain him at Pekin, he set out with a free and courageous heart to join the imperial army already on its march.

The thoughts of the triumph about to be obtained over the enemies of the empire, did not make Prince Paul forget that he had also to make the conquest of his family to Christianity. No sooner did his military duties leave him a moment's leisure, than he hastened to write to his father and mother to exhort them to follow his example and embrace the law of Jesus Christ; he also wrote to his wife, who having been already instructed in Christian truth, was so touched by the sentiments full of the Divine Spirit, which breathed from the letter, that she requested to be baptized, and received the rite under the name of Mary.

Prince Paul did not limit his efforts to evangelising his numerous family by pious correspondence; but performed the part of an intrepid and zealous missionary in the camp, and proclaimed Christian truth to the princes and mandarins of the army, persuading many of them to lay aside their prejudices, and become fervent professors of the faith.

It was beautiful to see this intrepid prince, in the midst of the tumult and perils of war, and while ready at any moment to shed his blood for his country, calmly occupying himself with the conversion of his companions-in-arms, and exhorting them not to forget what they owed to God, at the moment when they were about to sacrifice their lives for their sovereign. Having heard that there were among the troops several Christian

soldiers, he ordered them into his presence, and treated them with so much kindness and familiarity, that they were quite confused at his condescension; and he also performed towards them the functions of a missionary, though his example was doubtless still more efficacious among them than his fervent discourses.

The third son of Sourmia, who, as we have said, had been created a Regulo of the fifth order, was not yet baptized; but when he was informed of the conduct of his brother in the army, and of the letters he had written home, he was affected even to tears, and reproached himself with having allowed himself to be preceded in the way of salvation by a brother to whom he had communicated the first knowledge of Christianity. He resolved, therefore, to delay no longer, but to profit by the opportunity that Providence seemed to have afforded him, to release himself definitively from the restraints imposed by his position at court.

The health of this prince was feeble, and obliged him frequently to absent himself from the palace, where indeed he now no longer desired to be; and already, from a conscientious motive, he had declined being present at certain superstitious ceremonies, at which, from the office he held, he was usually under the necessity of assisting. The Emperor Khang-Hi was at first disposed to punish him for his neglect; but he afterwards allowed him to retain an office of inferior dignity and proportionate profit.

The prince, however, gave up this also, that he might be quite free to serve God only; and notwithstanding the vehement opposition of his father, he received baptism soon after, namely on the day of the Assumption, 1721. He was named John, and his only son, baptized

at the same time, was called Ignatius. After this he applied himself to the instruction of his family, and the names of the Princess Cecilia, his wife, Agnes his daughter-in-law, and his two grandsons, Thomas and Matthew, were soon counted among those of the Chinese Christians.

The whole family was animated by a spirit of fervent piety, and met twice a day in a small chapel they had erected, in the most peaceful and solitary part of the palace, where they read together the prayers of the Church, and Prince John instructed his domestics, whom he had the good taste to treat equally well, whether they profited by his instructions or neglected them. He used frequently to tell them that faith was a gift of God, and that it was necessary to pray to Him for it; and that no human consideration ought to have any part in their conversion; the domestics, however, were so much struck by the examples they witnessed, that they used to come in crowds to the missionaries to be baptized. Prince John was the instructor of the catechumens and new Christians, and with the view of rendering his influence over them more lasting, and strengthening them in the faith, he revised carefully the little work he had composed for his own instruction, and determined to have it printed. We have pleasure in quoting the preface, in order to give some idea of the pure heart and excellent capacity of this fervent Christian: —

"Heaven has not endowed me with talents, my capacity is very limited, but nevertheless, from my infancy I have wished to instruct myself, and for this reason I studied thoroughly the doctrine of the Bonzes, and Doctors of Reason, a study which occupied me many years.

"At first, I found something good in them, but subsequently their doctrine appeared to me to have no resemblance to truth. Not wishing to trust entirely to my own understanding, I consulted then the books of the literati, and employed thus several years more; but I gained little profit from them; I found no able master to guide me, and some superficial knowledge was all the fruit of my long researches.

"They could not guide me to the true sense of those books; but every time I came to anything concerning the origin of the world, and the life and death of men, I weighed seriously in my mind what was said. For instance, in the Y-King we find: —

"'The heavens and the earth exist; after them come all the productions of nature; and then man and woman.' That is clear enough, I said, but whence come the heavens and the earth? by whom do they exist?

"In the same book we read: —

"'The subtle air produces living beings; the soul is subject to change.' But what becomes of this soul? These reflections only augmented my doubts, and threw me into a labyrinth of perplexity.'

"One day I went to take a walk, it was in the forty-sixth year of the Emperor Khang-Hi; and I saw by chance at an idol-temple a book, entitled, 'Treatise upon the Soul.' Struck by the novelty of the title, I bought the book, returned home, and began to read it with eagerness; but whatever attention I gave to it, I could not succeed in thoroughly mastering its meaning, though I saw that this book differed greatly from any I had read before.

"I perceived that it had been printed in the Church of

the Lord of Heaven, but I was entirely ignorant of what kind of people lived in that Church, and of what they did there. Out of curiosity, however, I sent one of my servants to get me some of their books; and he brought me back the two called, 'The Knowledge of the True God,' and the 'Seven Sacraments.'

"These works pleased me much, and I liked their method of explaining the creation of the heavens and the earth, the nature and end of human existence, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, the life after death, the creation and preservation of all beings; all was explained so clearly that no doubt could remain. There were some things, however, too far removed from the sphere of the senses, by which I was stopped; these were the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Redemption, to which my mind refused belief. Thus I passed some more years, not quite leaving off the reading of these books; but not giving myself up entirely to them.

"At last, towards the summer of the fiftieth year of the Emperor Khang-Hi, I fell ill, but afterwards recovered, and during my convalescence, having nothing to distract my attention, I began to reflect upon the Christian religion, its extreme importance, and its perfect consistency in all points. I determined to go and see the missionaries, to reason with their catechists, and obtain from them what light I could upon the subjects that had perplexed me. These visits and these disputes lasted three years more, after which I awoke as from a dream, my doubts cleared up, and little by little light broke upon me.

"I continued to read the religious books which treated of eternal rewards and punishments, but my heart was

divided between fear and joy, love and terror. My resolution to embrace the Christian religion was fixed, but yet one reflection still held me back. The doctrine it contains, I said, is perfectly true and good; I cannot after so much examination deny it. I find in it no contradiction, but why does it come from a foreign country? Why has China not heard of it before? It is true that several literary men of the dynasty of Ming have published eulogiums upon it in their writings, but may they not have allowed themselves to be dazzled by the love of the marvellous? The belief in this incarnate Jesus, of whom these books speak as the Sovereign Master of Heaven and the human race, is an article of faith of the highest importance. Ought I, in such a case, to trust to myself, and perhaps place myself in a position to deceive others? To my readings I then added fervent prayer to God, that he would deign to enlighten me, and second my efforts. If, in my meditations or researches, I found a passage difficult to understand, I went to consult the missionaries, argued with them and interrogated them; and so passed several more years.

"From my first acquaintance with the Christian religion, till the present year, the fifty-sixth of Khang-Hi, ten years and more have passed; and I thank the Father of mercies not only for not having rejected me, sinner as I was, but for having also enlightened my mind, and conducted me by his grace to the knowledge of the truth. I understood, at last, that all the nations of the world are of one soul, and have one reason for their guide, that the same heavens cover them, and that they ought all to honour the same God, the Creator of the universe.

"At last God gave me grace to believe in Jesus Christ,

the Saviour and Redeemer, and acknowledge him for the true God, the Creator of the universe. At that sweet recollection my heart breaks forth, in lively gratitude, into songs of praise and admiration for his mercies. This is written at the commencement of the eleventh moon, towards the middle of that in which the winter solstice falls. I went to visit the Christian Lieou Joseph, and informed him of my design of putting upon paper the motives that had determined me to embrace the Christian law. He approved it greatly, and I have therefore fulfilled my intention, reducing them to five heads. By this means, while I strengthen my own faith, I may perhaps be the occasion of others embracing it." *

In the five chapters that compose the body of the work, the author demonstrates, with logical accuracy, clearness, and simplicity, the existence of one only God; the sanctity of the Christian religion (a holiness so perfect that it cannot be of human invention); the miraculous propagation of the Gospel by the martyrdom of the first believers, and the profession of faith of the learned men and great doctors of Europe. He concludes, by endeavouring to prove that the Christian doctrine is by no means in opposition to that of the sages and philosophers of China.

This work of Prince John exercised a happy influence on the conversion of his relations and friends. The Regulo Sourmia, seeing his sons one after another, and almost their whole families, embracing the Christian religion, could no longer restrain his anger. He even went so far as to forbid their entering his palace, or appearing henceforth in his presence; and he threatened them with referring the matter to the Em-

* Lettres Édifiantes, vol. iii. p. 482.

peror himself. This outbreak did not, however, prevent his eleventh son from following the example of the rest; for he too became convinced of the truth of Christianity, and demanded baptism. He took the name of Francis, and had a small chapel built in his house to facilitate, for the women, the performance of their religious duties; the manners of the country not permitting women of rank to go publicly to church.

This new conversion could not be concealed from the Regulo Sourmia, and his displeasure was increased against the religion which, nevertheless, he esteemed at bottom, though, unlike his children, he feared God less than the Emperor, and greatly dreaded the decay of his credit and his fortune. He had been formerly General of all the forces of Oriental Tartary, as well as Governor of the province of Leao-Tong; and for ten years he had filled these offices with so much distinction, that, at his return, the Emperor confided to him the administration of the government, and made him chief of one of the eight banners; that is to say, he was at the head of thirty thousand men in Pekin, and owed no account of his administration to any one but the Emperor.

Sourmia was consequently regarded as one of the most illustrious of the imperial princes, and his dignity was increased by the circumstance that two of his sons —the sixth and the twelfth—were continually in the suite of the sovereign. The sixth son Lei-Chin was indisputably the most accomplished man of the whole court, and he had made such progress in the favour of the Emperor, that he was invested with six different offices, one following rapidly on the other; offices which had been held before by as many different dignitaries. He performed their various functions, however,

with so much exactness, that all Pekin was astonished, and talked of nothing but the extent and superiority of his talents.

The Regulo Sourmia was proud of the celebrity of Lei-Chin, and calculated that he would certainly be chosen by the Emperor to succeed to the paternal dignity; the Regulo was far from imagining that the future heir to his title was now following the example of his brothers, and studying with zeal and perseverance the principles of the Christian religion.

The Emperor's son, who had, in the meanwhile, set out at the head of a powerful army to subjugate the tribes of Mongolia of the Kookoo-Nov, and of Thibet, was recalled to Pekin, and he brought back with him Prince Paul, whom he highly esteemed for his valour and experience in military affairs, and he gave such a favourable report concerning him that Khang-Hi bestowed on him new honours, and augmented his revenues in proportion.

Prince Paul, however, had other views: his resolution was taken to serve no other master than Jesus Christ, and to combat no enemies but those of Christianity. He presented a memorial, therefore, to the tribunal of the Mantchoo Tartar princes, in which, among other things, he said that as a wound that he had received made it impossible for him to mount a horse, and that he had, consequently, become useless for the service,—it was not just that he should hold the offices that he had been appointed to, or receive their emoluments; and that he therefore prayed the Emperor to be pleased to grant him his dismissal. The President of the Tribunal, being a particular friend of Prince Paul, made the report concerning him in such a manner that the Emperor

consented to his retirement, and at the same time left him a title of honour that did not involve any duty.

Prince Paul was overjoyed at thus finding himself free from all secular embarrassments, and able to devote himself wholly to works of piety. Not content with having instructed his own family, he exerted himself also to gain over those of his relations and friends with whom he was most intimately connected, and his peculiarly chosen work was the baptism of the children of infidel princes. He was most vigilant in keeping watch over such of these little creatures as were in danger of death; and he used to go himself to visit them and baptize them, after having made their friends understand the happiness that he might prove for their children, by conferring on them this Christian rite. It was a beautiful and touching spectacle to see this imperial prince and warrior, after returning disabled by wounds from the field of battle, bending tenderly over the beds of little children, and sprinkling their brows with the blessed water of redemption.

Prince Paul and his two Christian brothers, John and Francis, met every day to confer together on the means most proper to advance the work of God in the bosom of their numerous families. They agreed that they should make but little progress as long as the Regulo, their father, remained in infidelity; but his presence was forbidden to them all three, and it was therefore necessary to find some one who could gain access to him, and be capable of touching his heart. The eldest of their brothers appeared to them better fitted to this task than any one else; his natural talents his modest and persuasive eloquence, his skill in the Mantchoo language, which the old prince greatly pre-

ferred to the Chinese, all tended to win for him the confidence and affection of the Regulo.

He was as yet only a catechumen; but he was perfectly well instructed in the Christian faith, observed its law as exactly as his Christian brothers; and if he had not yet been baptized, it was because the missionaries judged it better that he should wait some time, until he had made the last effort for the conversion of his father, since, when he had once received baptism, the entrance to the paternal mansion would be forbidden to him. He willingly accepted the commission with which his younger brothers entrusted him, and went about the work with discretion as well as zeal, employing many stratagems to insinuate himself into the heart of his aged father, and inspire him with the desire to embrace the religion, of whose truth he was partially aware, but from which he held himself aloof from motives of worldly policy and expediency.

In the meanwhile the three Christian princes, who could do nothing by the ministry of the word, were continually, with their families, at the foot of the altar, imploring the mercy of God, making extraordinary fasts, and practising various austerities, of which persons of their rank could scarcely have been thought capable. They distributed abundant alms to the poor; they attended the sacraments; they often prayed the missionaries to offer the Holy Sacrifice for the conversion of a father whom they loved so tenderly; and they wept when they thought of the advanced age of their dear father, who was still keeping obstinately away from the kingdom of heaven.

All these pious efforts, however, appeared to be of little effect; they brought some favourable disposition into the heart of Sourmia, but they did not change it.

They rendered him somewhat more tractable on the subject of religion; but it was still evident that he had no intention of embracing Christianity; and he persisted in refusing to admit the three princes, his sons, to his presence. He could not be ignorant that several of the princesses had received baptism with their daughters, but he took no direct notice of the fact, merely warning them in general terms, that they had better be cautious, or they might entail ruin on their families. They seemed to pay attention to this advice, and to act with more reserve; but his sons, not thinking themselves authorised on that account to neglect their religious duties, continued to go to the church and obey with fervour the law of God.

Whilst the number of Christians in this illustrious family was continually increasing, a great event occurred which threw into consternation missionaries, Christians, mandarins, and the whole Chinese empire.

In the year 1722, whilst China was in the enjoyment of profound peace, the Emperor Khang-Hi went, according to custom, to pass the summer in Tartary, at the Park of Perpetual Spring. Although in his seventieth year, the Emperor was still in vigorous health, and when the hunting season arrived, he mounted his horse and enjoyed himself as usual in this favourite sport. On his return journey he wished, before re-entering Pekin, to amuse himself with a tiger hunt, in a park at no great distance from the capital; but all on a sudden, while the hunters were eagerly pursuing a magnificent tiger, the Emperor gave orders to turn back in all haste to the Park of Perpetual Spring. Khang-Hi had been seized by the icy wind of the north in such a way, that he felt it was the stroke of death. His physicians

lavished upon him all the cares that their art and experience could suggest, but to no purpose; nothing could restore warmth to his frozen limbs, and he expired about eight o'clock in the evening, on the 20th of December, surrounded by his courtiers stupefied by the suddenness of the misfortune.

On the following day the "Moniteur" of Pekin announced to the empire, in the customary language, that "the monarch of the universe had fallen, and his imperial soul been carried off to heaven by the great dragon." The official paper published, at the same time, the will of Khang-Hi; but it is too long to quote entire, and we shall content ourselves with giving some extracts from it, in order to afford an idea of this curious document:—

"I, the *Emperor*, who honour the Heavens, and am entrusted with their revolutions, say, that amongst the emperors who have governed the universe, there has not been found one who did not regard it as an essential duty to revere Heaven and imitate his ancestors. The true manner of revering Heaven and imitating ancestors is to treat with goodness those who are remote from us, and advance, according to their merit, those who are near; to procure peace and plenty for the nations; to make the welfare of the universe one's own welfare, and the heart of the universe one's own heart; it is to foresee wisely the disorders that may happen in the state, and to prevent them before they happen.

"The sovereigns who labour according to this plan from morning till evening, and occupy themselves with these cares even during their sleep, continually forming designs, whose effects extend over long periods of time, and are widely comprehensive for the public good, these

princes, I say, are not far from the accomplishment of their duties.

" I, the Emperor, who am now seventy years of age, having reigned sixty of those years, owe these blessings, not to my own weak reason, but to the invisible help of Heaven and of earth, of my ancestors, and of the God who presides over the empire and over agriculture. According to chronology and history, more than four thousand three hundred and fifty years have passed since the reign of Hoang-Ti; and during this long course of ages, we calculate that there have been three hundred and one emperors, only a small number of whom have reigned as long as myself.

" When, after my elevation to the throne, I had attained the twentieth year of my reign, I did not dare to hope that I might see the thirtieth; having attained the thirtieth, I could not hope for the fortieth; yet now I find myself arrived at the sixtieth. *Chou-King*, in the chapter entitled the Great Model, makes happiness consist of five elements; long life, riches, tranquillity, love of virtue, and a happy end. This happy end holds the highest place amongst these five elements; doubtless because it is the most difficult to obtain. My present age proves that I have had a long life; as to riches, I possess all that is contained between the four seas; I am the father and root of a hundred and fifty sons and grandsons. My daughters must be more numerous yet. I leave the empire peaceful and happy; so that the happiness which I enjoy may well be termed great; and after this, if no unforeseen accident occurs to me, I shall die contented.

" I make, however, one reflection. Although I cannot dare to say that during my reign I have changed bad

customs and reformed bad manners; though I have not succeeded in procuring food for every family, or necessaries for every individual; and though I cannot in these points be compared to the wise emperors of the three first dynasties; I believe I may nevertheless assert, that during all this long reign I have had no other object in view than to procure perfect peace for the empire, and to make my people happy, each in his own state and calling. It is to this that I have devoted my most assiduous care, with incredible ardour, and with an unremitting toil, which has contributed not a little to wear out my strength of mind and body. I have no words strong enough to express the extent of my application in fulfilling these duties. Some of the emperors have reigned but a short time, and historians have thence taken occasion to censure them, attributing their premature deaths to their immoderate passion for wine and pleasure. Thus they establish a general rule, to which they will allow no exception, and seem to make a merit of searching for the smallest defects of accomplished and praiseworthy princes. I, however, wish to justify in this point, by a clear and unanswerable defence, the emperors of former dynasties; the fact having been, that the quantity of business with which they have been overladen has caused them so much grief and trouble as to shorten their days."

Here Khang-Hi goes into a long historical dissertation, which has no interest for those who are not deeply acquainted with the annals of China. After having tried to justify the emperors of former dynasties, the Tartar-Mantchou sovereign continues thus:—

"Of all the dynasties which have followed each other up to the present time, there is none which acquired the empire so justly and rightfully as my own. Neither

Taï-Tsou, my great-grandfather, the founder of it, nor Taï-Tsong, my grandfather, had at first any wish to make themselves masters of it. Taï-Tsong said: 'We have long been at war with China, and it would now be easy for me to become her master; but I consider that this empire belongs to him who now governs it, and I cannot be willing to take it from him.'

"The rebel, Ly-Kong, however, having stormed the imperial city of Pekin, the Emperor Tsoung-Tching hung himself, that he might not fall into his hands; and then the people and the nobles of China applied to us. After having entirely exterminated the rebels, we entered Pekin, and succeeded to the throne in place of the deceased monarch, to whom we did funeral honours according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Rites.

"Our dynasty, rooted in the deeds of my glorious ancestors, who obeyed Heaven and conformed to the will of the people, is now possessed of this empire: it may thence be concluded, that rebellious subjects, or unnatural children, tend only by their disobedience to bring the people under the government of their true masters. The destiny of emperors is fixed by Heaven. Thus, if long life be appointed them, no obstacle is sufficient to shorten their career; if peace be appointed them, nothing can disturb it.

"I, the Emperor, have applied myself to the study of wisdom from my tenderest childhood, and have acquired a rough knowledge of ancient and modern science. In the prime of my life, I was able to bend a bow fifteen times as strong as the ordinary one, and shoot arrows of thirteen palms in length. I knew the management of all weapons, and have appeared at the head of my armies; in all these things I have had much ex-

perience. Never in my life have I caused any one to be put to death without cause. I have calmed the revolt of the three Chinese Kings; I have cleansed the north of the great sandy desert*; and all these enterprises have been arranged and conducted by the resources which my genius supplied.

"I have never dared to spend on useless things the treasures of the empire, the guardianship of which is committed to the Court of Tributes; that is the blood of the people, and I have only taken from it what was necessary for the support of the armies, and to provide against famines. I have never permitted the apartments of the houses at which I have sojourned when travelling, to be hung with silk; and the expense at each place did not exceed from ten to twenty thousand ounces of silver. If it is considered that I disbursed annually more than three millions of ounces of silver, for the maintenance and repair of dykes, it will be seen that the first expense did not exceed the hundredth part of that.

"I, the Emperor, have more than a hundred sons and grandsons, and am seventy years of age. The kings, the great men, soldiers, people, even Mongols, and others, express the attachment they entertain towards my person, and regret to see me so advanced in age. Should I terminate my long course at so happy a period, I shall quit life with satisfaction.

"The descendants of the two sons of the Emperor Taï-Tsou, my great grandfather, are now well-established and in the enjoyment of peace; and do you also unite in your hearts, and mutually support each other. This

* An allusion to the war against the Oeleuts.

hope with which I flatter myself, makes me leave the world contentedly, and die in peace.

"Yong-Tching, the fourth of my sons, is a rare and precious man. This prince has much resemblance to me, and I do not doubt that he will be capable of receiving and bearing the great inheritance. I ordain that he shall ascend the throne after me, and take possession of the imperial dignity. According to the regulations, the mourning for me shall be worn only for twenty-seven days.

"Let the present edict be published at the court, and throughout all the provinces of the empire, in order that no one may be ignorant of its contents." *

The monarch who was just lost to the empire was certainly one of the greatest who have ever adorned the throne of China; and his personal appearance fully corresponded with the idea one might form of the most powerful potentates of Asia—his figure, his features, his deportment, majestic, yet softened by gentleness and goodness, inspired sentiments of love and respect in all who approached him, while he was even more distinguished by mental qualities of the highest order. He had a comprehensive and noble intellect—surprising penetration, a most retentive memory, from which nothing escaped, a clear sound judgment, which in doubtful cases never misled him, and a firmness of character that nothing could shake.

When Khang-Hi was still a young child, he is said to have given indications of what he was about to become. Chun-Tché, his father, had been long ill, and when his state no longer left any hope of recovery, he sent for his sons, and asked which of them felt himself

* De Mailla, vol. xi. p. 350, *et seq.*

strong enough to support the weight of a newly-conquered crown. The eldest excused himself on the plea of youth, and begged his father to dispose of the succession at his pleasure; but Khang-Hi, the youngest, then only eight years of age, kneeling by the bed of the expiring monarch, said firmly, that he believed he should be able to undertake the administration of the empire; and that by keeping in view the example of his ancestors, he hoped to govern to the satisfaction of the people!

Chun-Tché, already prepossessed in his favour, immediately upon this answer named Khang-Hi as his successor, under the guardianship of four regents, who were to administer the government during his minority.

In order to realise the hopes that had been formed of him, Khang-Hi applied himself with zeal and perseverance to acquire the qualities that might conciliate the attachment of the two powerful nations placed under his sceptre; and his astonishing success showed that the rough energy of the Tartar, tempered by a Chinese education, may afford a combination of strength and sagacity very favourable to government.

He distinguished himself in the different bodily exercises, intended to give agility and vigour to the frame, and render it capable of supporting great fatigues. The effeminacy that reigned at the courts of Asiatic princes was never to his taste, and he passed a great part of the year far from the delights of the palace of Pekin in the mountains of Tartary; and there, almost continually on horseback, he practised in long and toilsome hunts the management of the bow, the musket, and the crossbow, — without, however, at any time, neglecting the affairs of state, but holding council

under a tent, and even taking from his sleep the time necessary for hearing his ministers and giving his orders.

It was, however, especially in the great art of governing that he made the most rapid progress; and he owed this, doubtless, as much to the circumstances of his reign, as to his unwearied application, and the capacity with which nature had endowed him. It will be remembered with what energy he broke up the Council of Regency, and took the reins of government into his own hands, at the very moment when the young Louis XIV. was doing the same thing in France. This specimen of the energy of his character had excited great awe in his subjects, and Khang-Hi soon found himself called upon to exert all the resources of his genius.

When he had barely attained the age of manhood, he had to front numerous and powerful enemies, who were attacking him on all sides; to give chase to formidable pirates who were infesting his coasts,—to disperse the immense armies of the valiant Ou-Sang-Koui, who had excited all the southern provinces to insurrection,—compel the Kings of Canton and Fo-Kien to submission,—subjugate the prince of Chen-Si,—and finally extinguish, in the blood of the Mongol princes, the scions of the ancient conquerors of China, the claims that they were endeavouring to revive. This is what Khang-Hi had to effect when he was scarcely twenty years old; and it may be imagined what energy and sagacity it demanded from the young Emperor.

When China began once more to enjoy the blessings of peace, Khang-Hi applied himself to the reform of the laws, and to correcting the vices of administration which the licence of a time of war had introduced. He

made a judicious selection of men of talent and integrity to fill the most important offices, not accepting indiscriminately the persons presented to him by the tribunal, whose business it is to choose such officers; but making, through confidential agents, close inquiry concerning their characters; and often himself conducting their examinations. The slightest defect did not escape his notice, but a mandarin who had public opinion strongly in his favour was always well received by him.

Notwithstanding his formidable power and immense wealth, Khang-Hi was frugal* in his repasts, and simple in his habiliments; but though he avoided expense in what concerned only his own person, he scattered his treasures magnificently when he had to provide for the maintenance of armies—or public edifices—for canals, bridges, or other great works destined for the advantage of commerce, or for the public convenience.

* Khang-Hi has been accused of avarice, and the following anecdote is cited in support of the accusation:—One day, when walking in the park of Nankin, he called a mandarin of his suite, who passed for the richest man in the empire, and ordered him to take the bridle of an ass, upon which his majesty mounted, and conduct it round the park. The mandarin obeyed, and received an ounce of silver as payment for his trouble; and then the emperor said he desired to amuse himself by performing the same service for him. The mandarin endeavoured to excuse himself, but was compelled to obey. After this whimsical promenade, the monarch asked of the mandarin, "How many times am I richer and more powerful than thou?" The courtier, prostrating himself, said that any comparison was out of the question. "Well, then," said Khang-Hi, "I will make it myself. I am twenty thousand times greater than thou art, and therefore you shall pay my labour in the same proportion above the price I put upon thine." And the mandarin was thereupon obliged to disburse twenty thousand ounces of silver. This anecdote, if true, seems to us to illustrate the satirical tendencies of Khang-Hi more than his avarice.

In order to please the Chinese, who profess much esteem for letters, he cultivated them himself, read the *King*, and familiarised himself with the history of China, which he translated into the Tartar language. He practised original composition also, both in prose and verse, and attained to the art of writing as well as speaking Chinese, with nearly as much facility as his native Tartar. He even formed a library of all the best Chinese books, and paid skilful literary men to translate them into the language of his race. Literature became, indeed, almost a passion with him, and he devoted himself to it as much from taste as from policy; but as the sovereign of two great nations, of characters so widely different, he wished to excel in what each of them most esteemed.

Khang-Hi soon learned from the missionaries attached to his court to what a far higher degree of perfection the arts and sciences had been carried in the West, and he knew better than to follow merely the Chinese books in such matters. He pointed out to his astonished people a new path, into which inordinate attachment to ancient custom, as well as mistaken presumption, had hitherto prevented their entering. He himself cultivated the sciences of Europe with incredible ardour; and geometry, astronomy, medicine, anatomy, and other branches of physical science, became successively the subjects of intense application to him. In the cause of art he was no less zealous than in that of science; he established in his palace various *ateliers*, in which he kept the most skilful and industrious artists and workmen constantly employed, giving them the masterpieces of Europe as models; painters, sculptors, engravers, enamellers, artisans in

steel and copper, emulated each other in endeavouring, under the direction of Europeans, to satisfy the taste of a prince who could so well appreciate and reward works of merit.

It was this love for science and art in Khang-Hi which procured for the missionaries a freedom of access to his person not granted to the first dignitaries of the empire, nor even to the princes of the blood; and in the frequent conversations, in which this great sovereign seemed to forget the majesty of the throne to place himself on a level with mere monks, the truths of Christianity were often discussed. He could not but appreciate the purity of the moral system of the religion with which he thus became acquainted, and he spoke in praise of it before his whole court, protected its ministers by a public edict, and permitted its free exercise throughout his empire; but it does not, nevertheless, appear that he ever had any serious intention of embracing it. If he favoured the missionaries it was because they were useful to him, and that the splendour of their talents shed glory on his reign.

"It is probable," says Abel Remusat *, "that this reign of sixty years will be counted by the Chinese among the most glorious of their history. In China, as among the ancient Egyptians, with whom it was the custom to subject the sovereign, after his death, to a sort of trial, it was usual to bestow on a deceased Emperor some characteristic epithet, a posthumous title, that might consecrate his virtues and preserve the recollection of them; and the title that Khang-Hi received from his contemporaries was, Ching-Tsou-Jin-

* Mélanges Asiatiques.

Hoang-Ti (that is to say, wise and holy grandfather,—pious Emperor), a name which attests the veneration inspired by his memory. The holy grandfather, a Chinese would say, really merited the name of *Jin* (pious) by his piety towards his parents and his devotion to the commands of Heaven; and not less did he deserve that of *Ching* (holy and wise) by his inviolable attachment to the maxims of the ancients, which he had engraved on his heart, and by the varied knowledge he possessed on a great variety of subjects."

The missionaries of Pekin had been overwhelmed by the favours of the Emperor Khang-Hi, and we need not therefore be surprised at their zealous eulogies of the monarch who had raised them above all the princes of China. In speaking of the splendour of his reign, they are continually comparing him to his contemporary Louis XIV. of France; the "Historical Portrait of the Emperor of China," published by Father Bouvet in 1697, carries out in detail the parallel between the two sovereigns, and Louis XIV., who could not but be flattered by it, several times testified his esteem for Khang-Hi, without breaking through the custom of the Kings of France, of not sending embassies to China for fear of compromising their dignity.

Mirabeau says somewhere, in speaking of Louis XIV., that he was the most Oriental king of the West; and when we see in what honour the arts and sciences were held at the court of Pekin during the reign of Khang-Hi, may we not say that he was the most Western monarch of the East?

CHAP. IX.

NARRATIVE OF ONE OF THE JESUITS OF PEKIN.

In order to furnish as impartial a statement as possible of the Chinese controversy, and the better to enable the reader to form his own opinion concerning it, we shall give in conclusion of the present volume an account of the legation of the Cardinal de Tournon by Father Thomas, Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits in China, and also (in the Appendix) the Apostolic Constitution of Clement XI., which Monseigneur de Mezzabarba was commissioned to publish in China.

Article 1.

The Narrative of Father Thomas.

As soon as M. de Tournon, the Patriarch of Antioch, had been appointed Legate to China, he wrote from Rome to Father Grimaldi at Pekin, begging him to obtain permission for him to land in one of the ports of the empire, and he also requested that missionary to favour him with his advice. The Legate's letter was dated February 7th, 1702, and Father Grimaldi replied by various channels, addressing letters both to Canton and Fo-Kien, in which he spoke to the Legate with frankness concerning what he thought there might be to hope or to fear from the legation.

On the arrival of the Patriarch at Canton, (on the 8th of April, 1705,) he resolved to conceal his dignity until what he considered a fitting opportunity for

proclaiming it should arrive; but he wrote to the missionaries of Pekin that they might address their letters to him to Nankin, as he was about proceeding to that town.

This intention, however, he gave up at the persuasion of some persons whom he listened to, against the general opinion; and he then wrote to the missionaries of Pekin (desiring them to make no reply) that they were to announce to the Emperor the arrival of the Patriarch of Antioch, &c. &c., with full powers from His Holiness the Pope, to visit all the missions of China. After that the Patriarch did not ask advice of any missionary, except that he wrote to Father Grimaldi requesting his sincere opinion; but we could not but suppose that, after having enjoined us to execute his orders without making any reply, he was not very likely to pay attention to any counsels that might oppose the ideas and sentiments he had adopted. He desired also that we should present to him a Jesuit to fill the office of Vicar-Apostolic of Nankin, though he could not but have known that it was not possible for us to comply with this demand.

In obedience to the first command of the Patriarch, we wrote twice to the Emperor to Tartary, where he was at that time, and requested permission for him to exercise his functions in China. To our two first letters we received no answer; the answer to a third refused him an admission to the court; but at last, at the fourth application, our request was granted. The Emperor ordered that the Legate should be presented with a Tartar dress, and his expenses defrayed until his arrival at Pekin; and that silenced, or ought to have silenced, the persons at Rome and elsewhere, who spread the report

of the missionaries established at the court of the Emperor of China having hindered the Legate from entering his dominions.

M. de Tournon set out from Canton on the 9th of September, and was everywhere received with the highest honours; but the size and weight of the boats that had been assigned to him, retarded his arrival at Pekin, and delayed the gratification of the Emperor's wish to see this dignitary, for we had given his majesty a high idea of the importance of a Legate of the Holy See. Towards the middle of November, the Emperor sent some one to the province of Canton, on purpose to bring him an account of the Legate, though ostensibly only for the purpose of accelerating his journey.

On the 25th of the same month, he sent his son Cum-Yo, and the son of the viceroy, to meet the Legate, and they were accompanied by missionaries from each of the three churches.

They found the Patriarch at less than eighty miles from Pekin, but perplexed how to continue his journey as the river was frozen; they, therefore, conducted him by land to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of December. He was lodged in the residence of the missionaries within the inclosure of the palace, purposely that he might be more conveniently situated for receiving marks of favour from the court, and orders were given that provisions should be furnished him at the expense of the Emperor during the whole time of his stay in Pekin.

As it happened that one of the Legate's attendants died, the Emperor, at the Legate's request, bestowed on him a piece of land for a burial-place, and this first gave

the prelate the idea of establishing a house of Italian missionaries at Pekin. Already this cemetery was known by the name of the Cemetery of the Italians, although it would have been more expedient if the Legate had accepted a portion of that previously destined to the use of the Europeans. It had been offered to him, but he chose to have a separate piece, and by that suggested to the penetrating monarch of China that there was division among us. The Emperor sent spies to ascertain whether there was any difference in the ceremonies used in the interment of the defunct from those generally in use amongst the Christians, and he learned that there were such differences, at which he was displeased, though he did not publicly notice the circumstance. On the contrary, he sent the Patriarch a present of two pheasants which had been destined for the imperial table; and when he granted him an audience, showed him some favours hitherto unexampled, receiving him in a garden at a short distance from the first gate of the palace, that the Legate might not have the fatigue of traversing the spacious courts and vast apartments. It was on the 31st of December that M. de Tournon was admitted for the first time to the Emperor's presence, and he was attended by his whole household and all the missionaries of Pekin.

The different cohorts through which he had to pass received orders to excuse his compliance with the Chinese ceremonies, in consideration of his rank and his feeble state of health.

He saluted his Imperial Majesty with the kind of genuflexions, which were said in Europe to signify adoration, and then the Emperor ordered him to be seated on a pile of cushions, and asked him questions about the

Pope, with an air of kindness and familiarity that delighted us all. A reception of this kind from a sovereign is nothing uncommon in Europe, but in China it was regarded as a miracle of condescension.

The Emperor's goodness to the Legate was manifested in all sorts of ways; tea was presented to him by the greatest lords of the court, the sovereign himself put a cup of wine into his hands, and lastly, a table covered with thirty-six dishes, served on gold plate, and which the Emperor had scarcely touched, was sent to the Patriarch at his residence. After dinner, his majesty conversed with him in a friendly manner, and invited him to explain himself on the subject of his legation, listening to him for a long time very patiently, and correcting him when he made any mistake; in short the monarch did everything he possibly could to inspire personal confidence.

It may be safely asserted that there cannot be found in the whole history of China any other example of such a reception to an ambassador as was given to M. de Tournon, and if the newly arrived Europeans were not of this opinion, it was because they were ignorant of the customs of this court; the Tartars and Chinese, including the Hereditary Prince, were much struck by it.

At the commencement of the Christian new year, the Emperor's attentions to the Legate were renewed; and his Majesty stated at the same time his intention of sending presents to the Pope, which were delivered on the very next day (the 2nd of January), with the request that Father Bouvet might be chosen to present them to his holiness in the Emperor's name; while the Patriarch on his side commissioned M. Sabini to accompany him. Bouvet and Sabini were, however, only entrusted with

the least valuable presents, as they were to go by some vessels about to sail immediately for Europe. The Emperor preferred sending the most precious articles by the same vessel that should carry back the Legate.

His imperial majesty now invited the Patriarch to partake with him the pleasures of the winter hunt; but as the Patriarch did not think the expedition altogether suitable to his character, he was requested to name some one whom he would like to witness in his stead this magnificent diversion; and at the same time, as the Patriarch was indisposed, orders were given to take certain provisions to him every three days.

As the commencement of the Chinese new year approached, we began to fear that the liberality of the court towards M. de Tournon was somewhat diminishing, and especially it appeared to us that he was treated with less distinction than might have been expected in the distribution of presents made at that season by the Emperor. Our fears increased when the last day of the year arrived without any sign of presents to the Patriarch; at last, however, it appeared we were mistaken, for there arrived a magnificent assortment of gifts, a sturgeon of prodigious size, with other fish, deer, wild hares, pheasants, and a table with a banquet served in splendid silver dishes. Nothing could be more superb than the style in which these things were conveyed to the prelate.

On the 26th of February, the Emperor invited the Patriarch to be present at a display of fireworks that was to be made at a country-house of his majesty's; and as M. de Tournon was still unwell, the Emperor had him carried across the gardens, a convenient place was assigned to him, and a concert of eunuchs got up for his amusement, though it is usual for these persons only to

sing in the apartments of the women; finally, a bed was prepared for him in the imperial mansion, and two mandarins ordered to act as sentinels at his door during the night.

In the beginning of spring, the Emperor went to the province of Pé-Tche-Li, to amuse himself by shooting certain aquatic birds, which assemble there in vast numbers. This is a sport for the fine season, and generally precedes the grand hunting expedition to Tartary, which takes place during the great heat of summer.

During the Emperor's absence, the Hereditary Prince showed the same attention to the Legate as the sovereign himself had done, and in the heats of the month of May invited him to take the warm baths which were considered necessary for his health, and appointed a mandarin to accompany him, who provided him with a convenient lodging. The Emperor sent frequently to inquire after his health, and about the 10th of June invited him to a farewell audience previous to the Emperor's departure for Tartary.

The Legate's increasing indisposition prevented him from complying with the invitation, and two mandarins of the third class were appointed to remain near him, and send frequent accounts of his state to the court. It is customary in China to make presents to persons on their recovery from illness, and accordingly when the Emperor heard of the Patriarch's convalescence, he sent him fifteen pieces of brocade, and a pound of the precious root *Gin-Seng*.

When the Emperor was about to set off for Tartary, M. de Tournon thought he must not allow the opportu-

nity to pass without seeking an audience, and he was conducted with great pomp by mandarins, to an imperial residence outside the town. Being still an invalid, he was allowed to be waited on by his own officers, and he was then conducted to an inner apartment, where, after performing the nine genuflexions (with the support of the Fathers Gerbillon and Pereira), he was permitted to sit in the Emperor's presence, the Hereditary Prince, and the ninth and thirteenth sons of the Emperor, and several of the courtiers, being also in the apartment.

After thanking the Emperor for all his goodness, the Legate was invited to visit on the following day a country-house and gardens belonging to the Emperor and the Prince. The Patriarch was received at both with all possible distinction, the Prince himself showing him the gardens; and two boats were then prepared for the host and his guest to make an excursion on the canal. Sometimes the Prince's boat preceded that of the Legate to show him the way, and sometimes it moved alongside for the facility of conversation.

Before M. de Tournon took his departure, the Prince regaled him with delicious liquors, and he took his leave amidst the compliments and applause of the whole court, greatly surprised that the influence of the missionaries of the palace should have been able to procure such a reception for a stranger, and some even murmuring at a familiarity by which, as they conceived, the Crown Prince of this great empire had lowered himself.

Doubtless, it was the Lord himself who turned the heart of the Emperor in favour of M. de Tournon; but still it may be considered that the Fathers of Pekin

contributed not a little to obtain for the Church represented in his person such signal marks of favour.

The infidels were thus disposed to embrace a religion which they saw held in honour at the court, and would to heaven the Emperor had continued to treat the Patriarch with the same distinction! Indeed, though subsequently for two months greatly displeased, the Emperor never did discontinue his liberality; the Legate was always furnished gratuitously with provisions, and it was at the Emperor's expense that he was re-conducted to Canton.

Article 2.

On the Controversy in Matters of Religion.

We shall say no more on this subject, than that when M. de Tournon arrived at Pekin and hinted to the missionaries that the decree which was to terminate the deplorable contest that had occasioned so much division had been issued at Rome, they entreated him to signify the contents to them, protesting that they were ready to sacrifice to the obedience they owed the Church all the interests of the mission, even to their lives, and that they would consent to leave China, if the Sovereign Pontiff should desire it. We suppress the other details relative to this controversy, because we regard as a law the order of the Sovereign Pontiffs, that they should not be spoken of directly or indirectly.

Article 3.

The Conduct of the Patriarch in the different Negotiations that he conducted at the Court of Pekin.

On the 25th of December, 1705, the Emperor demanded from the Patriarch the purpose of his legation.

Being perfectly well informed of all that took place within his empire, he was aware of our divisions, and on seeing the arrival of an apostolic commissioner, naturally concluded that he was come to re-establish peace among the European missionaries; he, therefore, informed the Legate, through his mandarins, that a voyage of eighteen thousand miles could not have been undertaken without some great purpose, and that it was necessary that he should be informed of what it was.

The Patriarch replied, that he came merely to return thanks to his Majesty, in the name of the Pope, for the protection he had been pleased to accord to the Christian religion, and the missionaries who preached it. M. de Tournon himself would have given a more correct account of the motives of his legation; but MM. Sabini and Appiani prevented him.

At last he resolved to make the communication to the Emperor secretly, through the intervention of the mandarins; on the 26th of December he placed in the Emperor's hands a memorial written in Italian, and, in a secret conference, he declared to the mandarins that he had come to make a visit of inspection to the Fathers of Pekin. In the evening we were informed by the Patriarch himself that the Emperor had said in reply, he would be answerable for the good and regular conduct of the Fathers of his Court; and that he would only permit the Legate to visit the missionaries scattered through the provinces. All this passed before the Italian memorial of the Legate (of which we shall speak presently) had been translated into Chinese.

On the 27th of December the mandarins told his excellency that the business was terminated, which, as he understood the expression to signify that his requests

were granted, afforded him great satisfaction; but Father Kiliani and others were obliged to abate his joy by informing him, that according to the Chinese style of speaking, this merely meant that it was under consideration; and they reminded him that, as his memorial had not yet been translated into Chinese, it was not quite possible that the Emperor should have acceded to all the demands contained in it. The memorial, correctly translated, was as follows:—

"In order faithfully to obey the orders of your imperial majesty, I will inform you that his holiness has so great a desire for the salvation of your soul, that he ardently desires to maintain an eternal correspondence with this court, and to receive continually news of your royal person, as well as to keep you informed of all that can afford you pleasure. For that purpose his holiness would wish to establish here a person of great integrity and prudence, and of eminent learning, in quality of Superior General of all the Europeans. This Superior will at the same time satisfy the desire of his holiness and the claims of your majesty to the good government of the mission, to which the protection, the example, and the good counsels of your majesty have done so much honour."

The Emperor was so impatient to see the contents of this memorial, that he had it brought to him when it was but half translated; and when he had read the whole, he said, "These are only frivolous demands. Has not the Patriarch really something else that he desires to negotiate here?" and the courtiers were struck by his penetration.

On the 28th of December, the mandarins reported to the Patriarch, that the Emperor thought the Superior

General of the Missions should be a man known at court, who had resided there at least ten years, and was acquainted with its manners; and they alleged very good reasons in support of this opinion of their sovereign. This was a thunderbolt for the Patriarch, and he exclaimed, with an appearance of heat and emotion that must be attributed to his state of health, that they granted him a thing one day and refused it the next; and that the Emperor must have been influenced by some one to occasion this change.

Father Pereira, who foresaw the consequences of this irritability, humbly begged the Patriarch not to allow any expression to escape him at which the Emperor might take offence; and said that, after all, the monarch had not granted him anything yesterday that he refused to-day; but he merely proposed conditions to him with a view of acceding to his request.

The Patriarch did not take the advice in good part; but told Father Pereira that he did not like to be interrupted when he was speaking; adding, that he desired that what he had just said should be translated and reported to the Emperor. The Fathers Gerbillon and Pereira then resolved to be silent, although they well understood the bad effect the Legate's language would have; and M. Appiani gave his answer in writing to the mandarins.

No sooner had they read it than an expression of anger and grief appeared on their faces, and they exclaimed that their master, the greatest prince in the universe, was treated with disrespect; and they complained that he was accused of frivolity of mind, when he was said to allow a thing one day and refuse it the next.

They then retired into an inner apartment, to utter

their complaints more at their ease; and when the Fathers Pereira and Gerbillon remained alone with the Patriarch, they ventured to suggest that it was necessary at this court to adopt a more modest style of negotiation.

At these words the Patriarch burst forth into invectives against Father Pereira, and told him contemptuously, that for thirty years he had been serving the Emperor in the capacity of a mean artisan, and that he would subject him to examination through his Auditor, after having put him upon his oath to reveal the truth.

The Father, colder than marble, was beginning to excuse himself, when the Auditor took him by the arm and led him away.

The Emperor, who was then engaged in the chase, learned through a eunuch all that had occurred in the residence of the Patriarch, and he afterwards administered to M. Appiani a severe reprimand, which virtually fell on the Legate; and thus the first negotiation proved abortive.

On the 29th of December the Emperor said aloud, in the presence of his court:—

"Our newly arrived ambassador from Europe imagines that the old Europeans of my palace have solicited the new dignity of which he speaks in his memorial; but he is certainly mistaken: for, besides that a commission of the kind has no rank or prerogative among us, it would be a heavy charge for them; for the Romans would assuredly render their agent responsible for the ill success of their negotiations in Pekin. I know our old Europeans, and I am sure that no one of them would take on himself such a burden. I should

also have but little esteem for any one who would take such an office on himself." The Emperor, at the same time, desired us to present to the Patriarch's Auditor a protest concerning all that had taken place in the affair of the Superior of the Missions. We were to declare in this protest, first, that we had not in any way hindered the Emperor from granting the Patriarch what he wished; secondly, that even though the Emperor should order us, under heavy penalties, to accept the superiority over all the missions of China, we would refuse it.

The Patriarch received our protest in all the ceremony of Legate Apostolic — we kneeling before him; and after he had listened to it, said that he was certain some of us, or at least some one of us, had frustrated his negotiation with the Emperor; and he bade us take care how we opposed the purposes of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Head of the Church; that his intention had been to establish a friendly correspondence between the courts of Rome and Pekin, for the good of the mission. We heard this discourse of the Patriarch, and then withdrew in silence.

A second negotiation was the consequence of the first. The Fathers Gerbillon and Pereira having heard from the Patriarch that the Holy Father wished to establish a person at Pekin who might be a mediator between the two courts, took the resolution to mention it to the Emperor, hoping that he would feel less objection to the presence of an agent than to that of a Superior General of all the Missions. They accordingly communicated this plan to the Emperor through his grand chamberlain, and his majesty the next day spoke of it to the Patriarch in an audience that he granted him.

On the 31st of December the Legate formally made

the proposal, on the part of the Pope, for the establishment of an agent, who might be the bearer of letters between Rome and Pekin, and the Emperor replied that the thing was perfectly simple, as the office might be given to one of the Europeans long resident in his palace. The Patriarch said it would be more proper to choose some one well acquainted with the Court of Rome, and in whom the Pope could place full confidence. "What do you mean by placing confidence?" exclaimed the Emperor; "for me every subject is a man in whom I can place confidence. I reckon on the fidelity of my whole people. I have at my court, and in my service, mandarins of three different orders; I desire any one of them to execute my commands, and which of them would dare to fail in doing so? Suppose I were to consent to the appointment of such an agent as you propose, would this new comer understand me? He would require an interpreter, and then we should have suspicion and distrust as we have now."

The Patriarch replied, that he had in view a man of great application, who would devote himself night and day to the study of the Chinese tongue; but the Emperor declined the offer, and the affair was at an end. The third negotiation was equally unsuccessful, for M. de Tournon, founding too great hopes on the marks of distinction shown him, forgot the double refusal he had received. He wrote, therefore, to the mandarin, Kan Kama, that he had some secret business to communicate to him for the Emperor's ear; and Kan Kama immediately came to him. The Patriarch then stated that he wished to buy, at his own expense, a house in Pekin; and that he only waited for the Emperor's permission. Kan Kama had often heard the Emperor remark that the

Patriarch had some grudge against the old European residents of the palace; and, therefore, with the view of sounding him, the adroit mandarin represented the matter as perfectly easy. He merely asked why the Patriarch had not sought to obtain the favour in question through the Fathers; whether he had any cause to distrust them; and if so, upon which of them in particular his suspicions fell. The clever Tartar outwitted the Roman; for he drew from him the cause of distrust, true or false, which he conceived himself to have, and the names of those he distrusted, which he immediately reported to the Emperor, taking care at the same time to encourage the Patriarch in the hope that he would manage the affair of the house for him as soon as he should find a favourable opportunity.

At length, on the 4th of February, Kan Kama came again and said, "You desire to have a house in Pekin, and it is just as easy for the Emperor to give you one as to permit you to buy one. You see what he has done for the Fathers, and he is ready to do as much for you, if you will only make them the organs of your wishes. Show then a spirit of peace and unity; make common cause with these old European residents; act in harmony with them; they are the only men who speak well of you to the Emperor. Who would have known here that you were a man of importance in Europe, if they had not borne testimony in your favour? Their reputation is high here, and you will never succeed but by their means."

The Patriarch was obliged to the mandarin for his counsel, and the next day he sent for the Fathers Grimaldi, Gerbillon, Thomas, and Pereira. The Emperor heard of this, and desired them to give him an account

of the conversation that had passed. The Fathers had felt quite sure of being able to obtain the favour they had to ask on behalf of the Patriarch; but the Emperor, being aware through Kan Kama of the true state of the case, informed them that he had no intention whatever of granting this favour.

"The Patriarch," he said, "tells me that by so doing I should give great pleasure to the Pope, and render my name illustrious throughout Europe; but how do I know what sort of people would be sent to fill the house? He does not tell me of what order or of what nation they would be. The Patriarch says that the inhabitants of this house would lead different lives from those of the European Fathers, who have been so long in my palace; but that might be inconvenient, and lead to disorder, or at least to discord, and for my part, I like uniformity."

Kan Kama ventured to remark that it might be possible to grant the house on condition of its being common to all; but the Emperor replied that the project was impracticable, and dismissed the applicants.

After our departure the Emperor said to his courtiers, "Do you not perceive by what steps the Patriarch has advanced to ask for this house in Pekin? At first, he wanted permission to have a Superior General for all the Missions; then an agent between my court and that of Rome; and now at last, he asks only for a house in Pekin; but this is that he may ascend again by degrees. He will ask for the agent after he has obtained the house, and for the Superior General when he has got the agent."

At length the monarch signified to the Jesuits that he

forbade them from ever repeating this request, and when the Fathers appeared afflicted at the prohibition, he had the goodness to tell them that they might solicit it again if they liked, but that he would never grant it. The Patriarch heard from others that the negotiation had not succeeded, and he conceived on that account the most violent suspicions against the Jesuits.

The fourth negotiation entered on by the Patriarch, was on the subject of the presents to be sent by the Emperor to the Pope, and in this he was no more fortunate than before. His majesty had permitted him to choose some person to take charge of them, and present them to his holiness, and he, as we have said, had cast his eyes on his Auditor, M. Sabini. The mandarin who was to conduct M. Sabini to Canton, however, represented to his majesty, that he could not understand anything M. Sabini said, nor M. Sabini what he said; and that they must, therefore, beg his majesty to give them one of the Fathers who might serve them as interpreter.

The Emperor did more than he had been asked to do, for, considering that it would be more decorous for him to send an envoy of his own than to allow the presents to be delivered to the Pope by a servant of M. de Tournon, he chose from amongst the Fathers in his palace Father Bouvet to go in his name to Rome.

The presents were brought to the Patriarch, and the care of them recommended to Father Bouvet and M. Sabini, but the mandarin who brought the message from the Emperor addressed himself to Bouvet only, so that no one at the court doubted that he was the sole representative of the Emperor, and that M. Sabini, represented nobody but the Patriarch; for it is certain no

one can claim the title of envoy from a prince, but by the appointment of the prince. In the farewell audience granted to the two, the Emperor addressed himself only to Father Bouvet, and desired him alone to offer his salutations to the Pope.

More than this, when M. Sabini asked for credentials, they were refused him, and given to Father Bouvet.

The Jesuits informed the Patriarch of this circumstance, but he affected not to hear what they were saying, so that we do not know what he thought of it; all we know is, that he wrote to the provinces that, by the influence of some one, Father Bouvet had been associated with M. Sabini as a colleague.

Perhaps he really persuaded himself that Father Bouvet was not going to Rome as the Emperor's envoy; at all events he sent a message to that effect to the Pope. He may have thought, too, that the appointment of the Father was informal, since it had been accepted without his knowledge, and that since he was the Superior of the Missionaries, they could not receive any appointments from the Emperor without his permission. It is very extraordinary, however, that he did not make any inquiry about the mission of Father Bouvet, since the matter was quite public and every one was talking of it. He seemed to think he could carry matters with a high hand and of his own authority in this distant country, and in a court so extremely jealous of its rights.

The tribunal Ping-Pou had the presents packed up, and delivered the keys of them to Father Bouvet; but the Patriarch commanded the Father to give up the keys to him, and he obeyed, and put them into his Excellency's own hands. Afterwards Bouvet requested

that they might be given back to him, and that in the presence of witnesses, no less than six times, but the Patriarch gave him no answer. At length, when the journey was about to commence, the Patriarch gave the keys to M. Sabini, forbidding him to deliver them to the Father, unless in case of his finding himself during the voyage at the point of death. When the party had reached Canton, and the mandarin who had conducted it was about to return to the court, M. Sabini asked to see Father Bouvet's credentials, which were shown him accordingly; and the Father then declared that since M. Sabini could not then be ignorant of his appointment as envoy, which had also been witnessed by the mandarin, the keys ought to be returned to him, or the mandarin might convey to the court a report disadvantageous to M. Sabini. The Patriarch was soon informed of this demand of Father Bouvet, and was so much displeased that he wrote to Sabini rather to throw the presents into the sea than give the keys of them to Father Bouvet, and he ordered the latter to resign his commission.

Father Gerbillon had, in fact, already, though well knowing the danger he was about to incur, written to Father Bouvet to give up the presents to Sabini, and promised that he and the other Fathers would endeavour to appease the Emperor; at the same time he informed the Patriarch of the step he had taken.

The fifth affair in which M. de Tournon was concerned happened in this way. He had told the mandarin Kan Kama, that he was extremely impatient to have a private audience with the Emperor, and open his heart to him without reserve. This was what his majesty had been wishing him to do for a long time, and a day was fixed

for the audience, namely, the 1st of June, but when it came the Patriarch was too unwell to go. The Emperor, therefore, desired he would confide to a mandarin what he had to communicate, but the Patriarch twice refused to do this, protesting that the matters concerning which he had to speak to his majesty were too important; that they did not concern the interests of his mission, nor those of his country, but those of the Emperor himself and the imperial family, and that he could only explain himself to a person expressly commissioned for that purpose by his majesty.

These reiterated refusals displeased the Emperor, and he was astonished that a man coming from such a distance could have any communication to make that personally concerned himself and his family. A little ruffled, he took the pencil in his hand, and informed the Patriarch in a note, of the cause of displeasure he had in these proceedings, and finally he ordered him to explain what he meant without any circumlocution.

The Patriarch, finding the Emperor's commands thus laid upon him, declared in our presence and in that of the mandarins; 1st, That Father Bouvet was giving himself out as the imperial envoy to Rome; and 2nd, That the Portuguese were hindering other nations from coming to China.

We all guessed what a storm the Patriarch was about to raise, and no one of us was willing to serve as his excellency's interpreter, especially with respect to the last article. M. Appiani, therefore, made the mandarins understand what the communication was which the Patriarch desired to make to the Emperor, but as they refused to carry a verbal message concerning so important an affair, it was given to them in writing.

Care was taken, however, to keep the mandarins amused during their visit, and they did not return to the palace till a late hour. During this interval the Bishop of Pekin was induced to represent to the Patriarch the danger of the declaration he was about to make to the monarch of China, and even the ecclesiastics of his own suite entreated him to desist; but M. de Tournon would make no other reply than that it was necessary to obey the Holy See. The Patriarch's letter was then sealed and placed in the hands of the mandarins; M. Appiani telling them, as he delivered it, that it contained mention of two very vexatious subjects; the one a complaint against Father Bouvet, for having taken on himself the quality of envoy from the Emperor, whilst every one knew he was only sent as coadjutor and interpreter to M. Sabini; the other affair was a complaint against the Portuguese, who would not allow any one to enter China unless he passed through their country, and subjected himself to their laws.

The court had been awaiting with extreme impatience the reply of the Patriarch, and the moment it arrived it was sent off to the Emperor at his country house.

The eldest son of the Emperor read the letter, and exclaimed, "What is this stranger meddling for? Father Bouvet really is our envoy. Can the Patriarch's servant presume to dispute that title with him? Should we have chosen him to make an ambassador of?" The Prince then carried the declaration to his father the Emperor, who, after having read it, appeared just as much offended, and asked the old missionaries whether the Patriarch and Sabini would not in Europe be considered deserving of severe punishment for such conduct?

His majesty replied to M. de Tournon with his own hand, in the first place justifying Father Bouvet; 2ndly, reminding the Patriarch that, as Legate of the Holy See, he ought not to concern himself about anything but the affairs of religion; 3rdly, declaring that, while talking about rooting out discord, he was in reality sowing the seeds of it everywhere; 4thly, that the Europeans had up to that time conducted themselves very well in his dominions, and that they had only quarrelled after his Excellency's arrival; 5thly, the Emperor threatened never again to allow a missionary to enter any port of his empire, without having been previously subjected to an examination.

The Fathers begged M. Appiani to give the Patriarch some warning of the severity of the reply he was about to receive, in order that he might restrain his feelings, and edify the mandarins who brought it by the mildness of his demeanour. The Patriarch profited by the advice, and thanked his Imperial Majesty for the good counsel given him, and the messenger was asked by the Emperor on his return, whether the Legate now began to understand that his Auditor was not the imperial envoy?

The monarch even wrote a second letter, full of menaces, but desired that it should only be delivered if the Patriarch should himself be obstinate, or if he particularly desired to see it; and the Fathers, having received a hint about this new letter, had his excellency warned of it through M. Appiani.

The Patriarch, therefore, when the mandarins returned, signified that he acquiesced in the Emperor's orders, and showed no desire to be made acquainted with the contents of the letter brought by them. M. de

Tournon, also, when interrogated as to whether he would consider it proper to recall M. Bouvet, comprehended the danger there would be in such a step on his part, for in that case M. Sabini would not have set off alone with the presents, so that their departure would have been still further retarded. At this proposal of the mandarins, the Patriarch could not refrain from tears, and he certainly never shed any that were better timed.

The mandarins inquired the cause of his emotion. "It is," said the Legate, "that the Sovereign Pontiff will impute to me the fault of the delay in the delivery of the presents which he is to receive from his Imperial Majesty, and if the Father does not now set off they will arrive too late." He was induced to speak thus, because he had sent an account of the presents by the way of Manilla; and he, therefore, now supplicated his majesty to allow Father Bouvet and the presents to go on their way.

The sixth embarrassment in which M. de Tournon became involved was on the occasion of his having displeased the Emperor, for which he was desired to make an apology. The slightest expression of regret in the most vague and general terms would have sufficed, but this M. de Tournon refused, and thereby drew on himself the anger of the sovereign.

After this he received, one after another in rapid succession, orders from the court which were very little in accordance with his dignity, so that at last he was obliged to complain that no regard was had to his character of a Legate Apostolic. The reply was, that respect would be paid to his character as Legate, but that it was necessary for this that he should produce his credentials, and he was urged to do so, if he had any.

The Patriarch, however, produced nothing that bore witness to his legation but two letters written from Rome, one to the Bishop of Pekin, and the other to the Bishop of Conon; and these prelates did not themselves regard them as sufficient, especially in a country where the style of the pontifical court was unknown. Doubtless the Patriarch had sufficient reasons for not bringing forward the vouchers for his authority; but as he did not, the Emperor determined to send him out of Pekin; though he did not give him a positive order to that effect, but merely desired he would not prolong the period appointed for his stay. An order was also issued for the return of Father Bouvet and M. Sabini with the presents, and it was decided that they should be reserved for some other legate, who should be able to exhibit more satisfactory credentials.

At first this project was only announced to M. de Tournon by way of threat, and to induce him to comply with the Emperor's wishes; but as he took no measures to appease the court, it was resolved to put the project in execution and send him back to Europe. A mandarin therefore received orders to travel in all haste to Canton, and desire the return of Bouvet and Sabini with the presents. The imperial decree addressed to them stated, that To-Lo (the Chinese name of the Patriarch) was not furnished with sufficient powers to be recognised as a legate of the Holy See, and that though it is true the old European missionaries bore witness to his legation, there was no necessity for believing their testimony.

It is certain that we had omitted nothing that was in our power to restore M. de Tournon to the good graces of the Emperor, and save the honour of the Holy See. We represented that the chastisement of the Patriarch

ought not to fall upon the Holy Father, to whom news had been sent both by the way of Tartary and Manilla, that presents were about to be sent to him from China. We could, however, obtain nothing by our intercession, and we therefore sent to Europe the original of our petitions to the Emperor, in order to show that we never ceased our efforts in his behalf until we received the most express orders to that effect. What grieved us most was, to see our high hopes entirely overthrown. The Emperor himself had declared to M. de Tournon that he had nothing more at heart than the conversion of his subjects to Christianity, and afterwards reproached him with destroying all prospect of this by his obstinacy; and finally he had ordered the Patriarch to write to the Holy Father that it was not his fault if Christianity had not made great progress in his dominions.

What consoled us a little in this disaster was, that the Emperor had M. de Tournon conducted back with the same honours as were shown him on his arrival, so as to check any inclination to insult in the people; and notwithstanding the discontent felt at the conduct of the Legate, the name of the Sovereign Pontiff was always respected. Some courtiers having taken the liberty of remarking that the Pope might be judged of by his ambassador, the Emperor silenced them, observing that it was a common fault enough for envoys to manage the affairs of their masters according to their own pleasure, and that persons invested with the authority of a powerful prince, were fond of playing the sovereign on their own account. It does not, therefore, appear to a sound judgment that the court of Rome lost much of its credit on this occasion; but we were still greatly grieved by the detention of the Bishop of Conon and his

catechist, and of M. Guetti. The Emperor complained that the bishop had spoken disrespectfully of him, which the prelate certainly did not intend. As for M. Guetti, he was a watchmaker, who had been made a priest in China, and afterwards taken to Pekin, where he exercised his skill in making watches for the Emperor; and whilst he was thus occupied, the Patriarch sent an Italian physician, named Borghesios, to the court, and tried to get him established there.

The physician brought some letters for Guetti, with whom, up to that time, no one had interfered; but the Emperor, observing vigilantly all that passed, asked him whether he had received any letters, and he frankly admitted that he had, namely two.

Thereupon he was ordered to show them, but he excused himself, saying he had left them behind in a little box. The box was sent for, but Guetti contrived to tear one of the letters, and hide the other in a place where he imagined it would not be found; his manœuvre had been perceived however by a mandarin, who found some of the fragments of the torn letter and carried them to the Crown Prince, who took them to the Emperor. There was a great outcry against the fraudulent attempt of the European, and he was obliged to collect the pieces of the torn letter, and produce the one he had concealed. Neither the one nor the other contained in reality anything of importance. In the first it was said: "These people (the Jesuits) will do their utmost to get you dismissed from the court;" and also, "M. the Patriarch wishes much to have you established near the person of the Emperor, but you must take good care not to speak of this."

The second letter contained little besides domestic news, so that the whole affair was very trivial, but it

brought trouble upon M. Guetti, on account of the awkward attempt he had made to conceal the letters from the Emperor. By way of reparation for his fault, he promised he would henceforward rather die than utter an untruth.

Article 4.

The State of Religion in China from the time of the Patriarch's Departure.

1st. "The Emperor regrets having lavished his favours on the Patriarch, and reproaches the missionaries of his palace every day for the urgent entreaties they used to induce his Majesty to allow the Prelate's entrance into China, and even to the court."

2nd. "The monarch declares that he has been treated with disrespect, threatens to be revenged, and has manifested his indignation by revoking his presents and dismissing the Patriarch."

3rd. "It is imagined at court that the dissensions of the missionaries can only originate in some great ambitious design, and, under this idea, the Hereditary Prince has been having secret inquiries made in the provinces. He has even induced one of his domestics to get himself baptized, in order to obtain through him intelligence concerning the mysterious proceedings in our assemblies. It was indeed with this design that M. Guetti was intimidated; namely, in order to make him tell what he knew of the Jesuits."

4th. "People are beginning to inveigh against Christianity in the presence of the Emperor, which no one had hitherto dared to do. The Hereditary Prince is one of the most vehement. Many mandarins wish to oblige their wives, children, and slaves, to renounce

Christianity, merely because the chief of that religion, or at least his representative, has excited the anger of the Emperor."

5th. "The Bonzes are triumphing, and announcing certain answers given by their gods, which prognosticate our ruin."

6th. "Our religion is becoming suspected. It had gained much from the testimony borne by the Emperor to its holiness and the probity of its missionaries. Now that heavy accusations are brought against them, people do not know what to think of it."

7th. "The authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, which we had so highly exalted, is declining in the churches of China. Those who owe the most to his benefits seem to think only of lowering others, and one is astonished to find men beginning to preach their own authority and power rather than Jesus Christ, and endeavouring to gain respect by the assertion of rank in the church even from those who have not yet embraced the religion."

8th. "The reputation of the missionaries has suffered a furious attack."

9th. "It is not here as in the courts of Europe, where people may laugh at the expense of the Jesuits without doing much harm; but here to bring them into discredit is to endanger the safety of souls. We may safely assert that no one here labours more than they do, and no one suffers more."

Article 5.

Reply to the Complaints of the Patriarch against the Jesuits.

1. He asserts that we did not send our Fathers to receive him, and assist him on his arrival in China.

Answer. There are here but two ports, that of Canton and that of Fo-kien. Was it expected that Jesuits should be sent to both of these, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles from the capital, to await for one or two whole years the arrival of Monsieur the Patriarch? The Emperor does not permit them to go further than two days' journey from Pekin. Is it then likely that he would have allowed them to go to those distant places?

And if they had gone to meet the Patriarch, would he not still have found cause for murmurs? Would he not have said that they had come to prevent his free action, and to hinder him from obtaining the necessary information.

2. The Jesuits did not obtain for the Patriarch and his suite exemption from tributes and customs.

Answer. The Patriarch himself admits in a letter, to Father Grimaldi (May 8th, 1705), that we zealously endeavoured to do so, and if we did not succeed we are not responsible.

Suppose a first-class mandarin with a train of attendants were to come to Rome, would letters of recommendation from the Superior of the Jesuits avail him much with a greedy custom-house officer, especially if they came loaded with the richest merchandise of Asia?

3. The Jesuits did not write to the Patriarch for the space of five months, during which he resided at Canton.

Answer. Did not Monsieur the Patriarch himself warn them by Father Beauvilliers, their agent at Canton, that he was going to leave that place for Nankin, and that they should write to him there? It is true he changed

this intention on the 8th of May, but the Fathers were not informed of the change till the end of June, and it would then have been useless to address letters to him at Canton which he would not have received.

Did the Jesuits since that time ever fail in their duty towards him?

4. The Jesuits did not get an envoy sent from the court, expressly to conduct the Patriarch from Canton to Pekin.

Answer. We were first suspected of having tried to prevent the Patriarch from being received at court; and it must afterwards have been seen that we had much trouble in obtaining this permission; and yet it is made a crime in us not to have sent a mandarin to conduct him. The desires of men are without bounds.

The complaint also is quite frivolous, since the Patriarch says himself, in a letter to Father Grimaldi (dated the 4th of September), "that he is very glad they did not send a mandarin to conduct him, as he would have been much annoyed by it."

5. Father Grimaldi did not comply with the wish of the Patriarch, when he requested him to give him a Jesuit to be Vicar Apostolic at Nankin.

Answer. The constitution of our society does not permit us to propose any Jesuit for an ecclesiastical dignity.

Secondly, the Primate of India had already been nominated to this office.

Thirdly, it would not have been suitable for us to take any part in a suit still pending in the court of Rome, upon the rights of the archbishopric of Goa.

6. Father Grimaldi made no reply to the Patriarch as to the submission due to Vicars Apostolic.

Answer. The Patriarch wrote to Father Grimaldi in these words: "I hope that your reverence will give notice to the Fathers of Pekin, that they are to receive the Vicars Apostolic with all the attention due to a decree of the Holy See." First, his excellency does not ask for a reply, but for the execution of the decree. Secondly, Father Grimaldi did give notice to his brethren as required. Thirdly, Father Grimaldi did make a kind of reply on the subject of the Vicars Apostolic, as he said he would speak with his excellency in private about it when he arrived.

7. The Fathers did not induce the viceroy of Canton to come in person to visit the Patriarch, and that personage merely sent his son.

Answer. No one of the Fathers of the court was acquainted with the viceroy, who had been brought up at Canton, and always employed in the provinces. He had only just been appointed to the mandarinate of Canton.

8. The presents made by the mandarins to the persons of the Patriarch's suite were of little value.

Answer. Can that be our fault? It is an objection hardly worth answering. These various complaints were made by the Patriarch in letters written to Europe. The following were by word of mouth.

9. It is made a ground of complaint,—the ninth grievance, that the Fathers did not kneel when they received M. de Tournon.

Answer. We did not kneel for this reason,—the Emperor had ordered that the Legate should assume the Tartar habit, and that honours should be paid to him according to the ceremonial of China. Certain persons, nevertheless, who approve no kind of civil honours but

such as come from Europe, did employ the Italian ceremonial with regard to the Patriarch, though he wore the Tartar costume. They prostrated themselves at his feet and embraced his knee, and the Patriarch laid his hand on their heads while he spoke to them; and the Chinese Christians were obliged to do the same. We in Pekin knew nothing of all that, but the Emperor was informed by his spies of all that had passed, and complained of it to us. "Do they," he said, "oblige my subjects to render to strangers the honours which are due only to me?" It is well known how susceptible the Chinese are upon these points of ceremony. At last he positively forbade us from bending the knee before the Patriarch, whom we informed of the orders we had received on the subject, but we could not, nevertheless, free ourselves from his suspicions. He would not be persuaded that the Emperor regarded these honours as implying temporal jurisdiction in him who received them. In vain did we assure the monarch that this homage was only rendered to the Legate as the minister of Jesus Christ. These people have no conception of what we mean by a spiritual dominion. Also it must be added, that when we could with safety kneel to his excellency, we did so without repugnance.

10. The Fathers of Pekin were not diligent enough in paying their court to the Legate Apostolic.

Answer. As long as Monsieur the Patriarch remained an inmate of our house, we paid him as much attention as we could. When he took a house far from ours, we visited him frequently. Our number was then only six, and of these Father Grimaldi was frequently confined to his room by habitual infirmity; another was an

aged man who had never gone out for three years; and Father Pereira was for two months away in Tartary with the Emperor, whilst the remaining three were frequently sent for by the Hereditary Prince, not to mention the other occupations of our ministry. Monsieur the Patriarch, must have known this, and it is therefore impossible to suppose he has cherished any resentment against us on that account.

11. The Fathers did not assist the Legate with their advice.

Answer. We take God to witness, that we gave him salutary advice, which was not attended to. He never asked for our opinions; he always seemed suspicious of them when we expressed them, and even treated them with mockery. For the truth of this, we appeal to the persons of the Patriarch's own suite, and to the Bishop of Pekin. It was not by our advice that he ordered us, without permitting any reply, to procure his prompt reception at the court; nor that he made us follow the funeral of one of his domestics, clothed in our surplices, through the streets of Pekin; nor that he despised the counsel of Father Grimaldi when he asked for a new piece of ground for the interment of the deceased, nor that he behaved harshly to Father Kiliani, when he supplicated him not to display any irritability of temper in the presence of the mandarins; nor that he assumed an air of extreme haughtiness towards Father Pereira, and disdained the suggestions of the Bishop of Pekin, as well as of Father Gerbillon, on the appearance of growing displeasure in the Emperor against him. Finally, we appeal to Monsieur the Patriarch himself, as to how many times he has said that it was enough for the Jesuits to execute his orders, without interfering in his

affairs, for which he was only responsible to God and the Holy See.

12. The Jesuits prevented the Emperor from accepting the physician whom the Patriarch desired to introduce to the Court.

Answer. This is very far, indeed, from the truth. The Fathers presented an address of congratulation to his majesty on the arrival of a European physician, and it was scarcely possible for them to do him any injury. Had he only displayed the smallest ability in the time of the famine, when the physicians here do much good, no one would have listened to a word to his disadvantage. Unfortunately he was not able to produce any decided impression of his merit. In the first place, he appeared too young; secondly, he did not bring books of medicine enough with him, and the Emperor concluded from that, that he had studied very little; thirdly, when the Emperor invited him to feel his pulse, he had scarcely touched it before he gave a decided opinion as to the sovereign's state of health; this had the appearance of precipitation, and augured ill for his attention to his patients; fourthly, when he had to write a prescription, it was found that he wrote it out of a book; fifthly, he allowed a servant of the Patriarch to die without investigating his malady, and declaring it was not dangerous; sixthly, he had, during the journey, performed the office of purveyor to the household of the Patriarch, he was ill-dressed, and he rendered to M. de Tournon the lowest menial offices.

The Emperor, who obtained information about everything, judged that a man of that sort could not be a person of consideration in Europe. What had the Jesuits to do with all this?

13. The Jesuits hindered the Patriarch from succeeding in his negotiations.

Answer. The more serious an accusation is the more it demands proof. Should such an accusation be lightly brought against priests, religious men attached to the Holy See, and are the mere suspicions of their adversaries sufficient to prove them guilty? Where are the witnesses to such a charge, and what is the ground of their deposition?

14. The Jesuits prevented the Patriarch from making an official visitation to their house at Pekin.

Answer. Monsieur the Patriarch knows that when the Jesuits requested the Emperor's permission for them to come to court, they themselves announced that he came to be the Visitor-General of all the Missions and Missionaries. Was that hindering his visitation? If they had desired to hinder it, they need only have taken advantage of the refusal the Emperor at first gave to the Patriarch's coming to Pekin at all. Yet the fact is, that they reiterated their request no less than four times, and ultimately succeeded. A mandarin to whom the Patriarch had communicated his purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the Fathers, repeated what he said to the Emperor, who did not think proper to permit this inquiry into the conduct and manners of people who lived under his own eye, and within the precincts of his palace. He had, therefore, the goodness, without our knowing it, to make himself responsible for the regularity of our conduct, and the purity of our manners. It will be seen, however, from the depositions sent to Rome by the Patriarch, that he did something more than visit our house. It is known here, and the Bishop of Pekin can certify the fact, as well as the most impartial witnesses, even from the Patriarch's own suite, that he

endeavoured to gain over both the Christians and Pagans to bear testimony against us, and even endeavoured to win them to this purpose by presents. We were perfectly aware of this, but did not take one step to prevent it.

15. The Jesuits spoke disrespectfully of the Patriarch.

Answer. If any one of them can be convicted of having spoken without due consideration of the Patriarch, we consent that he shall be severely punished. It is true that it was not possible for them to deny the vivacity of temper shown by his Excellency when he trampled under foot the petitions of the Christians. We have spoken also of the suspicions with which he had inspired the Emperor against the Portuguese nation, for the matter was too serious for us to refrain from speaking. The general welfare was at stake, and we believed ourselves in conscience bound to prevent mischief as far as we could by undeceiving the Emperor.

16. The Jesuits did not prevent the revolt of the Christians.

Answer. What is meant by the expression "prevent the revolt"? Can it be said that the Jesuits did not exhort Christians to obey the orders of the Patriarch? We cannot justly be complained of on this head. We never ceased to preach to the Christians the veneration and obedience they owed him. If we did not prevent their presenting petitions, and stating their grievances, can it be said that we did not induce them to do so in a modest and respectful manner? It is known here that we did hinder the unpleasant consequences that might have resulted from the impetuosity of M. de Tournon, when he trampled the petitions under foot. Can this be disproved?

17. The Fathers did not induce the court to pay more honour to the Episcopal character than had been done to the generality of European missionaries.

Answer. These are the facts. The Bishops of Pekin and Canton came to the capital, and it was ordered that both Christians and Pagans should pay them the respect due to their character. The pains we took to impress on our converts sublime ideas of episcopal pre-eminence are well known. With respect to the Pagans, it is true we were not so fortunate as to be able to inspire them with a proper respect for the purely spiritual character. The mere animal man cannot conceive what cannot be made manifest to his senses. They were scandalised to hear that in the vessel of the Church the Jesuits were only destined to do the work of common seamen, namely instructing the ignorant and little children, &c.; but that it was necessary to treat bishops with far more respect. These representations had no effect on the court, as ecclesiastical degrees do not appear of any importance in the eyes of a Pagan prince. Science and external talents strike the senses more powerfully than the prerogatives of an invisible character. If the Emperor has been pleased to acknowledge our former services, and treat us with more distinction than we have merited, God is our witness that we did our utmost to make him comprehend the pre-eminence of the episcopal office.

18. The Jesuits did not exert themselves to obtain from the court the release of M. de Conon.

Answer. We exerted ourselves so much as to excite the marked displeasure of the Emperor. He reproached us for importuning him with harangues in favour of a prelate who was entirely opposed to us. We endea-

voured in vain to make him understand that men may think and act differently; that it is also one of the points of our religion to return good for evil, and that M. de Conon was not attempting to do us any injury, when he maintained an opinion different from ours. The Emperor would not admit the validity of our arguments; and when we came to M. Guetti, he forbad our ever speaking in his favour again. This ecclesiastic paid dearly for having spoken against us with so little moderation; and unfortunately for him, the Emperor, in order to justify us, took measures to convict M. Guetti of slander. We declare that we are not responsible for the new tempest which will perhaps soon burst upon his head, and we desire to warn him and protect him from it.

19. The Jesuits of Pekin have been guilty of violent conduct towards their creditors, and have entered into usurious contracts.

Answer. We have furnished persons in Europe, our accredited agents, with documents affording our full justification on these points, but the present is too brief a summary to admit of our entering on so long a discussion.

20. The Jesuits procured the appointment of Father Bouvet to the deputation sent to Rome.

Answer. It is an assertion which our adversaries have made without ever attempting to prove it; but there would be nothing more surprising in their wishing one of their brethren to go to Rome on that occasion, than that Monsieur the Patriarch should desire to send one of his servants.

21. The Jesuits did not prevent the dignity of the Patriarch from falling into contempt.

Answer. The Patriarch did nothing himself to save it from contempt. Besides this, the wide difference in the characters of M. de Tournon and of the Emperor of China were the sole causes of the mortifications the former met with at the court of Pekin. The Jesuits took no other part in the matter than that of labouring as much as they could to appease and soften the Emperor. The extreme vivacity of M. de Tournon's temper rendered him a very unfit person to negotiate with a man of so much firmness and phlegm as the monarch of China. The mandarin Chao warned the Patriarch of this, and in drawing for him the portrait of the Emperor, said, "He spares satin and breaks diamonds. Too much resistance will induce him to treat you with rigour, but if you know how to bend, you will bend the heart of the prince."

The faithful narrative that we have given will convince all impartial persons that M. de Tournon himself is the sole cause of the ill success of his negotiation. The private journals kept by persons of his suite will prove the repeated and rough resistance he offered to the will of the Emperor. Since the slightest want of respect for the sovereign is considered in China as an unpardonable crime, what sort of impression must have been produced by a continued opposition to all the sovereign's desires, and a systematic want of complaisance towards him? We did sometimes prevent the Emperor's displeasure from breaking out, but could we do so always? We did also use our influence successfully to obtain a continuance of his liberality towards M. de Tournon, and to have him conducted back to Canton, as he had been brought from it, at the expense of the Emperor.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE CONSTITUTION OF OUR HOLY FATHER POPE CLEMENT XI. ON THE SUBJECT OF THE CHINESE CEREMONIES.

SINCE by the Providence of God, without any merit on our own part, we have been called to the government of the Catholic Church,—to sustain what by its vast extent is an immense burden,—we have had nothing more at heart, in devoting ourselves to our duties, than to decide with due wisdom and the rigid exactness of Apostolic judgment the lively contests that have been going on for a long time in the Empire of China among the preachers of the Gospel, and which have been from day to day increasing and growing more acrimonious—as well concerning some Chinese words that have been made use of to express the ineffable name of God, as with relation to certain ceremonies or forms of worship practised by the nation, and which some missionaries have rejected as superstitious, whilst others have permitted them, regarding them as purely civil; in order that, all dissensions which have troubled and interrupted the propagation of the Christian religion and the Catholic faith being removed, all should hold the same language, and the name of God be glorified by a perfect conformity of thoughts and words amongst those who are sanctified in Jesus Christ.

It was with this view that on the 20th of November, 1704, we confirmed and approved by apostolic authority the answers given by the Congregation of our venerable brothers the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church (committed and deputed by

the same authority to be Inquisitors General against heresy throughout the Christian republic), touching this same affair of China, after a long examination begun under our predecessor Innocent XII., of happy memory, and after the arguments on both sides had been heard, as well as the sentiments of a great number of theologians and other qualified persons.

The decisions given in these answers are the following:— That since in China the most high and good God cannot be named by the names given to him in Europe, we must, to express our idea of him, employ the words *Tien-Tchou*, that is to say, Lord of Heaven, — now for a long period received and approved by the missionaries and the faithful in Christ; but that the names "*Tien*," Heaven, and "*Xang-Ti*," Sovereign Emperor, must be absolutely rejected. That for this reason it must not be permitted that tablets bearing the Chinese inscription "*King-Tien*" — Adore Heaven, — should be placed in Christian churches, — nor retained there for the future should they have been previously so placed.

That it cannot be in any way, or for any cause, permitted to Christians to preside or serve, minister or assist, in the solemn sacrifices or oblations that it has been customary to offer to Confucius and to ancestors at the time of each equinox, — such practices being imbued with superstition. That for the same reason Christians must not be allowed to perform any ceremonies in the temples of Confucius, or offer oblations, such as are offered in his honour every month at the new and full moon by mandarins and principal magistrates or other officers and literary persons, whether by the said mandarins, governors, or magistrates, on taking possession of their dignities, or by literary persons who, on receiving their degrees, are accustomed to repair immediately to the temples of Confucius.

That, moreover, it must not be permitted to Christians to make the less solemn oblations to their ancestors in temples or buildings dedicated to them, nor to serve or minister at such oblations in any manner whatever, nor to render them any worship, or perform any ceremonies to their honour.

That Christians must be forbidden to practise this worship,

or these oblations or ceremonies, in the presence of the small tablets of ancestors in private houses, or at their tombs, or before interring the dead in the manner that is customary, either separately or conjointly with Pagans, or to serve, minister, or assist at them in any manner whatever.

To which it must be added, that after having weighed maturely, and carefully considered all that has been stated with regard to these ceremonies, we have found that in the manner in which they are performed they cannot be freed from superstition, and therefore cannot be permitted to those who make profession of the Christian religion, even though they should make, secretly or publicly, a protest, that they do not practise these rites to the dead by way of religious worship, but solely as a political and civil honour, and that they do not ask or hope anything from such ancestors.

That it is not meant, nevertheless, by these decisions to condemn any one for being present, or offering purely material assistance, as it sometimes happens to Christians to witness the performance of superstitious acts by Pagans, provided that there be not on the part of the faithful any approbation expressed or understood of what is passing, and that they do not exercise any office of ministry in them, and that they cannot otherwise avoid hatred and hostility; and after having made, if it can be done conveniently, a confession of their faith, and if they are out of all danger of relapsing to idolatry. That finally it cannot be permitted to Christians to keep in their private houses the small tablets to deceased relatives, bearing, according to the custom of that country, a Chinese inscription, signifying that it is the throne or seat of the spirit or soul of such a one; nor with another inscription, signifying simply seat or throne, which, though more abridged than the first, seems to have the same meaning. That small tablets bearing nothing whatever but the name of the deceased may be tolerated, provided always that they are connected with no superstition, and give no scandal; that is to say, provided that the Chinese who are not yet Christians may not suppose that those who keep them are of the same mind as the Pagans; and if moreover there be

placed by the side of such tablets a declaration of the Christian faith with regard to the dead, and of what is genuine filial piety in children and descendants towards parents and ancestors.

That nevertheless it is not intended by all that has been said, to forbid any other ceremonies with respect to the dead, which are customary, and which (if there are any such) are free from superstition, or any appearance of superstition, and restrained within the limits of civil and political ceremonials. Now to know what ceremonies are of this character, and with what precaution they may be tolerated, recourse must be had to the judgment of the commissioner and visitor-general of the Holy See who shall be then in China, or of any one who shall hold his place, or to the bishops and vicars-apostolic of that country, who, on their parts, shall be bound to use all possible care and diligence to introduce by degrees, amongst Chinese Christians, the ceremonies which the Catholic Church has piously prescribed with regard to the dead, and to abolish altogether the Pagan ceremonies.

Subsequently, after the lapse of six years, after we had a second time taken counsel of the Cardinals of the same Congregation, who with the greatest care and deliberation discussed the affair anew, we have declared, by a second decree, of the 25th of September, 1710, that all and every one whom this affair concerned would have to observe constantly and inviolably the decisions already given, and the mandate which Charles Thomas de Tournon, of pious memory, then Patriarch of Antioch, Commissioner Apostolic and Visitor-General for the Chinese Empire, and afterwards Cardinal of the same Holy Roman Church,—issued on the spot on the 25th of September, 1707; and we attached to our declaration the censure and penalties expressed in the said mandate, taking away absolutely all pretext, and all false arguments, by which any person might presume to contravene it, and adding especially this clause:—"Notwithstanding any appeal that may be made by any person whatever to us and to the Holy See, which for this reason we

should deem it fitting wholly to reject, and which we did in fact reject, as is more amply stated in our said decree."

All this should have been abundantly sufficient to tear up by the roots the tares which the enemy of mankind has sown among the good evangelical seed in China, and to induce the faithful to submit with all due humility to our orders and those of the Holy See; since at the end of these decisions, which, as we have said, had been approved and confirmed by us, we had pronounced clearly and distinctly, that the cause was finally settled. But since according to advices from that country, we have learned with extreme pain, that for a long time the execution of our decrees has been mostly evaded or postponed—not without injury to our pontifical authority, scandal to the faithful in Jesus Christ, and prejudice to the salvation of souls—under vain and false pretences: that we had suspended them, or that they had not been authentically published, or that there had been inserted in them conditions that were to be verified before the execution of the decrees, or that the facts on which these decrees had been grounded were uncertain, or that there was reason to fear great evil to the missionaries and even the missions, if the orders of the Holy See should be carried out; or finally, under pretext of the decree given on the 23rd of March, 1656, concerning these same rites and ceremonies of China, and approved by Alexander VII. of illustrious memory, one of our predecessors.

For this reason, and with the view of fulfilling the obligation that God has imposed on us of serving the Church apostolically, and desiring to reject and wholly annihilate all these difficulties, evasions, subterfuges, and pretexts, and at the same time to provide, as far as may be, with the help of God, for the repose of the faithful and the salvation of souls;—by the advice of the same Cardinals, and of our own accord, certain knowledge, plenary power and apostolic authority, after mature deliberation, we order each and all of the archbishops and bishops who are or shall be in future at any time resident in the empire of China, or in the kingdoms, provinces, or regions adjacent, under penalty of suspension of their episcopal functions, and interdict

from entrance into the Church; and also all grand vicars and other spiritual officers in those places, as well as vicars apostolic, not being bishops, or their provincials and missionaries, secular or regular, of any order, congregation, or institution whatever, even of the Society of Jesus, under pain of excommunication already issued, and from which no one can be absolved by any person whatever but ourselves or the Roman Pontiff for the time being, unless at the point of death; and with respect to the regular clergy, under pain of deprivation of voice, active and passive*; which censures shall be incurred by the fact itself, and without any other declaration by all offenders; and we command them by these presents, and in virtue of holy obedience, to observe exactly, wholly, absolutely, inviolably, and invariably, the answers and decisions here inserted, and all that is contained in them, as well in general as in particular, and to cause them to be observed in the same manner, as far as possible, by all under their care, or whose conduct concerns them, and that without their presuming to contravene them in any way whatever, under any title, cause, occasion, colour, or pretext whatever.

Further, by the same intent, knowledge, deliberation, and plenary power, in consequence, and in virtue of these presents, we enact and ordain, that under the same penalty of excommunication and of deprivation of voice, active or passive, all and every ecclesiastic, secular or regular, of the said orders, congregations, institutes, and societies—even that of Jesus, who may have been sent to China or other kingdoms or provinces, of which we have spoken, whether by the Holy See or their superiors, or who shall in future be sent there, in virtue of any title or power that they may have now or hereafter; namely, those who are now there, or who shall be at any future time, before they begin to exercise their functions as missionaries, shall pledge themselves by oath to observe faithfully, entirely, and inviolably this our present precept and command, according to the form that shall be included at the close of this Constitu-

* The power of electing or being elected.

tion, between the hands of the commissioner and visitor-apostolic in those parts, under whose jurisdiction respectively they may live, or be about to live, or of some other person deputed by him.

And as for the regular clergy, they shall be absolutely compelled to take this oath, between the hands of the superior of their order, or of those whom the superior shall have deputed, who may be found in those parts; so that before taking the said oath and subscribing with his own hand the formula to be presented to each one about to take the oath, it shall not be lawful for him to exercise or continue to exercise any function of a missionary, such as hearing confessions of the faithful, preaching, administering the sacraments, in any way whatever, not even as deputy for the bishop or ordinary of the place, nor as simple priest of the order, nor by any title, cause, or privilege of which express, special, or very special mention might be made. Also they shall not make use of any power that may have been accorded in private to them personally by the Holy See, or respectively to their orders, congregations, institutes, and societies, even that of Jesus; but with respect to them, over and above the penalties above stated, all and every one of these powers shall cease entirely, be of no effect, and be reputed null and void.

Further we ordain, that all the oaths that shall be taken, as we have just said, by all the missionaries, as well secular as regular, between the hands of the commissioner and visitor-apostolic, or of the vicar-apostolic or bishops, as soon as they have been signed, shall be sent (or authentic copies of them) as promptly as possible to the Congregation of Cardinals of the Holy Office, by the said commissioner and visitor-apostolic who may then be, or by the bishops and vicars-apostolic.

As for the superiors of each regular order, congregation, institute, or society, even that of Jesus, who may be then, or subsequently, in those parts, they shall be compelled, under the same penalties, to take the same oath according to the formula below prescribed, between the hands of the commissioner and visitor-apostolic in those parts, or of the bishops and vicars-apostolic;

as well as to require the same from those subject to them, and to send with all speed authentic copies of the said oaths to their superior-general, who shall be obliged to present them without delay to the Congregation of Cardinals of the Holy Office.

Ordaining that this Constitution, with all that it contains (although those of whom mention has been made, or all others whosoever, who may have or claim to have interest, in any manner, in the decisions above stated, of whatsoever rank, degree, order, pre-eminence, or dignity they may be, or such as otherwise might deserve special and personal mention, who should not have consented to them, and though they shall not have been cited, summoned, nor heard concerning them, and though the causes wherefore the present Constitution has been issued, should not have been accurately reported, or sufficiently verified, or for any cause whatsoever, even though it were judicial, or of privilege, or under any colour or pretext whatsoever, or for any alleged damage, detriment, however enormous or total), that it should not be ever charged with any vice of subreption or obreption, or nullity or defect of intention on our part, nor defect of consent in the parties interested, nor any other defect, however great, even though it were substantial, and that it should not have been thought of, nor could have been thought of, nor though it should have demanded express mention. We ordain, therefore, that the present Constitution shall not be attacked, nor enfeebled, nor invalidated, nor retracted, nor brought under discussion, nor subjected to technical objections; and recourse shall not be had to the method denominated *aperitio oris*, nor to the *restitutio in integrum*, nor to any method whatever, whether of law, of fact, or of favour to resist it, and that no one shall be permitted, after receiving from the Holy See this decree, issued of its own accord, with full knowledge and apostolic power, to make use of it in any way whatever to prevent its retaining its validity and stability for the present, and for all time to come; and that it should take effect fully and entirely, notwithstanding any defect of law or of fact that may be alleged against it, in any manner or for any cause, even though it were a privilege obtained from the Holy See, with a view of retarding or

hindering its effect; desiring that it should be inviolably and immutably observed by those whom it concerns, or shall concern in all times to come, without regard to any objections that have been hitherto brought against it, or that may be so brought, which are all absolutely and entirely to be rejected. Thus, and not otherwise, do we ordain with respect to the matters herein decided; and thus shall it be definitively pronounced and declared by all judges, ordinary or extraordinary, even by our Auditors of the Apostolic Palace, and the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by the Legates *à latere*, the Nuncios of the Holy See, and all others of whatever pre-eminence they may be, or whatever authority they may enjoy at present or in future, taking away from all and each of them all power and faculty of judging and interpreting otherwise; and should it happen that any one of them, with knowledge or through ignorance, should dare to undertake anything to the contrary of what we have just ordained, we declare his judgment null and of no effect.

Notwithstanding what has been said, and inasmuch as need shall be, notwithstanding our rule, and that of the apostolic chancery, not to take away any acquired right, and other apostolic constitutions and ordinances, general or special; or such as should have been made in universal or provincial councils, or synodical assemblies; and that of all orders, congregations, institutes, and societies, even the society of Jesus, or whatever churches they might be; and other statutes, even confirmed by oath, by apostolic authority, or in any other manner whatsoever, whether of custom or prescription, however ancient and immemorial they may be, or by Privileges Indulti* and Letters Apostolic, granted by the Holy See to the orders, congregations, institutes, or societies, even that of Jesus, and the other churches of which we have spoken, or to whatsoever other persons, however elevated they might be, and worthy that the Holy See should make special mention of them; granted, I say, for any possible cause, whether by way of contract or of reward, under whatsoever tenour or form of words these concessions may have been made,

* A grant in expectation by the Papal See of some benefice hereafter to become vacant.—Tr.

and whatever clauses they may contain, whether derogatory or not derogatory, valid or obsolete; and other similar decrees given of their own accord, knowledge, and plenary power, or at the instance of whatsoever persons, even though distinguished by royal and imperial dignity, or any other, secular or ecclesiastical; or at their consideration, or in any other manner whatsoever, if those concessions should be contrary to what is ordained and established by our present Constitution, though they should have been rendered, made, and several times reiterated, and approved, confirmed, and renewed, many times over; to all which things, and to each of them, although to derogate and control them sufficiently with all that they contain it might be necessary to make special, specific, express, and individual mention of them, and that word by word, and not by general and equivalent clauses, or to make use of some peculiar form; regarding clauses of this kind as fully and sufficiently expressed and inserted in the present Constitution, the same as if they were in effect expressed and inserted word for word, without anything being cancelled, and in the same form that they have in themselves; we control and derogate them specially and expressly, and ordain that they shall be so derogated and controlled, as well as all other things contrary, whatever they may be, by these presents and for the time only; consenting that they shall otherwise remain in full force and vigour.

This is the formula of the oath to be taken as aforesaid:—

"I, N——, missionary to China (or destined for China), or to the kingdom of N——, or province of N——, by the Holy See, or by my superiors, according to the power vested in them by the Holy See, will obey fully and faithfully the apostolic precept and command, touching the worship and ceremonies of China, contained in the Constitution which our Holy Father the Pope, Clement XI., has issued on this subject, in which the form of the present oath is prescribed, and perfectly well known to me by my having read the whole of the said Constitution; and I will observe it exactly, absolutely, and inviolably, and will accomplish it without any tergiversation. That if in any

manner whatever (which God forbid) I should contravene it, I declare myself subject, every time that shall happen, to the penalties declared by the said Constitution. I promise, vow, and swear this, laying my hand on the Holy Gospels. And so may God and his Holy Gospels help me!

"Signed with my own hand,

"N——."

Further, we will and ordain expressly, that the present Constitution, or copies which shall be made of it, even those which shall be printed, shall be notified and intimated to all the superiors-general, and proctors-general, and to each of the orders above named, and the congregations, institutes, and societies, even that of Jesus, in order that these superiors and proctors, as well in their own names as in those of the persons subject to them, shall respectively promise to execute and observe the said Constitution, and give the said promises in writing, and send as promptly as may be, by various channels, these copies to all persons subject to them, who are or shall be in China, and in the other kingdoms and provinces of which mention has been made, strictly enjoining them to execute and observe fully, entirely, truly, really, and effectually in all points, and without failing in any, this Constitution and all that it contains. And since it would be difficult to exhibit and publish everywhere the originals of this Constitution, we likewise will and ordain that in all places the same faith shall be given to all copies made of it, printed or written by the hand of some public notary, and sealed with the seal of some constituted ecclesiastical authority or dignitary, as would be given to the original of the same Constitution were it shown and exhibited.

Given at Rome, on Saint Mary Major, under the *annulus piscatoris*, on the 19th day of March, 1715, in the 15th year of our Pontificate.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE.

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